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REV. W. WILL, Moderator of Synod of Otago and Southland 1897-1898.

FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

A JUBILEE MEMORIAL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN

CHURCH OF OTAGO.

BY REV. JAMES CHISHOLM.



1848

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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

PREFACE.

THE Synod set me the task of writing a Jubilee Memorial of our Church, and left me perfectly free as regards the method and contents of the book. From the first it was evident that a bare recital of facts, in connection with the immediate origin and growth of our comparatively small Church, so far from being stimulating, might become very wearisome, and lend itself to Provincial conceit. I have thought it necessary, therefore, to widen the horizon and introduce a good deal of what in one aspect may be deemed extraneous matter. This may help to counteract the belittling effect of narrow surroundings, and show that we are closely linked to a glorious ancestry that has won for itself a foremost place in the ranks of the Church Catholic. Though small in numbers, we need not be pigmies in spirit, but great in humility, in loyalty to truth, and in saintly devotion to every holy enterprise.

There has been a touch of romance in the effort to procure some of the illustrations. It seemed at one time impossible to complete the group of the first Session. It was known that the only likeness of Mr. BLACKIE was in the form of an oil painting that had been sent Home to his father over forty years ago. It is now in the possession of his brother in America, and the illustration is from a photograph of the painting taken in Chicago.

The Church is greatly indebted to the Publishers for the pains they have taken in working up the illustrations, and reproducing so many objects of interest

PREFACE.

with such artistic skill and taste. Owing to the number and variety of the illustrations it has been found impossible to place them either in exact chronological order or in those parts of the book which they are meant to illustrate. In gratitude for the abundant fare critics will perhaps overlook the arrangement of the dishes.

I have very heartily to thank all who have shown a readiness to assist me in the work. If I have not made use of all the information they kindly sent, it is owing rather to want of space and a desire to preserve the proportion of things, than to any lack of interest in their communications.

To my own office-bearers and congregation for their forbearance during my enforced absence while engaged on this task, and to my brother ministers in the Presbytery of Clutha, who so generously filled my pulpit for two months, and thereby enabled me to devote my whole time to a work in which they felt equally interested with myself, I am deeply grateful.

I desire also most unfeignedly to thank Him who has enabled me to put unworthy hands to this work. In His abounding grace, He can cleanse our endeavours from the littleness of self, and use them for the furtherance of His own Kingdom of light and holiness. Unto Him be the glory in the Church and in CHRIST JESUS unto all generations for ever and ever.—AMEN.

J. C.

The Manse, Milton. 1st March, 1898.

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The following prayer in the handwriting of Dr. Burns was composed and read by Mr. Speaker at the opening of every sitting of the Otago Provincial Council, from its first sitting on 30th December, 1853, till its last on 3rd May, 1875-thirty-four sessions :-

Srayer

Must gracious Gad ne humbly tassech Shis as for this Colony in general. so Especially for this Connect now assembled, that Thore now dest he pleased to direct and prosper all our consultations to the assaman sut of thy glorif, the good of thy Church, the safety honor our melfare if our brieved, and these her dominious; that all things may be so ordered and settled by our Endeavours upon the best and curies foundations, that peace and happeness, truth and justice, religion, and porty many he Established aviring as for all generations

Spele and all other recessances for them, for us, and thy whole Church, no humbly beg in the name and mediation of Jesus Christi own-most blessed Lord and Saviour.



TOKEN USED AT THE FIRST COMMUNION IN FIRST CHURCH.





PRESEVTERIAN SYNOD OF OTAGO AND SOUTHLAND, 1897.

FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

A JUBILEE MEMORIAL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF OTAGO.

CHAPTER I.

$\mathbf{P} \mathbf{R} \mathbf{O} \mathbf{E} \mathbf{M}$.

Full fifty years syne, in the roomy kitchen of a cottar's house in the heart of Scotland, a woman was busy ironing at a long deal table. It was Saturday evening, and she was preparing for the morrow. She had finished a mutch for herself and a dickey for her husband. Several other articles of clothing hung on a cord that was stretched across the bright fireplace, a little below the mantel shelf. Two pairs of little boots stood at the side of the hearth, highly polished for Sabbath use; their wearers were asleep in bed. She was smoothing the folds of a print dress. It had been worn by a little girl-the first born of the flock-but she was dead, and it was now to be used by her sister. The mother's fingers moved tenderly amongst the folds, as if she were handling a living creature sensitive to the slightest touch. Her thoughts were sometimes with the tiny grave in the kirkyard, and sometimes in the happy land about which her girl was wont to sing and ask puzzling questions. The tears ran down the mother's cheeks as memory recalled the prattle of her child. She became conscious of them only when they fell hissing on the heated iron; then she hurriedly brushed them away, and set herself more energetically to work. After finishing her task, she reached up to a shelf by the side of the chimney and took down the family Bible, and laid it on the table for use. She then blew out the candle, and sat down amidst the flickering shadows caused by the expiring embers to wait for her husband.

He had been at a lecture on "Otago," in the village school, and was just returning. It was an evening in the late autumn. There was a touch of frost in the air; a film of white mist lay along the carse; a rank smell came from the decaying shaws of potatoes in a field close at hand; and the spirits of the man were somewhat low, as, with bent head, he walked wearily along the wellknown road. Ere he reached his home, however, his head was elate; he walked with a resolute step, and a new hope was dawning in his soul.

She heard his footstep, and then the latch was lifted, and he entered. The cement floor recently whitened, the blackened jambs brightly polished, and shining in the glow of the fire-light; above all the winsomeness of the woman who had walked bravely with him for the last ten years in sunshine and shadow, filled him with gladness. The quietness, and comfort, and subtle grace of a Christian home crept about his spirit and lapt him as in an atmosphere of heaven, and he shrank from speaking about his newly-formed purpose. At last he said, with startling abruptness,—" I think we should go, Jean."

Her head sank, for she saw by his face, and knew from the tone of his voice, that while his words were tentative his mind was resolute. She said nothing, but her eyes were on the little dress, and her thoughts were in the kirkyard where the rime was slowly whitening the green sod.

" If half of what yon man says about Otago be true, it's a far better place than this. Times are hard for folk like us. We've been gaun back for the last year or twa. Sin' that dark day when we had to sell the cow to bury little Jean I hae lost hert, an' feel sick o' the place. The laird hasna been the same sin' we left the auld kirk, an' he mair than hinted the other day that he wud raise the rent unless I left the *Nons*. an' gaed back to my seat in the auld kirk again. I told him plainly that tho' I micht feel sair at leavin' the place that had been for sae mony generations in the family—tho' every burn, an' dyke, an' tree seemed like a pairt o' mysel—yet, rather than wrang my conscience, I'd gang oot penniless the morn. He ca'd me a dour, misguided fellow, but I kent God was my helper, an' I had nae fear o' man."

"Ay, John; but the laird's near hand, an' we feel his anger; but God seems often far awa, an' we hardly ken at times whether it's His love that's lowein' or His anger that's burnin'."

"Love aince, love aye, Jean; wi' Him there's nae variableness nor shadow o' turning."

He followed her eye as it turned again to the print dress, and he knew where her thoughts were. The past years had taught him how surely he could count on the tenderhearted woman by his side; and so he said nothing further, but lighted the candle, opened the Bible at his elbow, and began to read from the eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, and the fifth verse—" Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son so the Lord 4

thy God chasteneth thee. Therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in His ways and to fear Him. For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. When thou hast eaten, and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee."

CHAPTER 11.

MAORIS AND OTHERS.

THE Maoris were then in the land. In Otago they were scattered along the seaboard, chiefly in the vicinity of boat harbours. Their principal chief was called John Tuhawaiki, but he was known by Europeans as Bloody Jack. The gruesome designation is suggestive of carnage and cannibalism; but it had a less offensive origin. He had been in the habit of associating freely with the sailors who visited the coast in whaling ships, and had proved himself to be an apt scholar in the use of their boisterous talk. It seemed to him to add a cubit to his stature when he could swagger about and supplement his native authority with the white man's forceful adjectives. The epithet "bloody" thus came to be often on his lips, hence his name. One is pleased to know that he grew to be ashamed of the practice that had won for him his equivocal title.

By the time those who cared for their well-being came amongst them the Natives were fast dying out. This was the effect of several causes. Many were slain in tribal wars. On one occasion, during the first quarter of the present century, the southern Natives were hard pressed by a tribe from the north, under the famous chief Te Rauparaha. Most of them sought shelter on the Island of Ruapuke, in Foveaux Strait. Their pursuers came overland to the mouth of the Mataura. They made rafts of corradies and crossed the river. They attacked a band of peaceful Natives there, and slew most of them.

A Maori mother, who had passed through the horrors of the massacre and its subsequent orgies, was wont to tell Europeans some of the sickening details. She saw her own children thrown upon the glowing stones of a Maori oven, to be cooked for the cannibal feast. Had she ventured to interpose on their behalf her life would have been speedily ended by the swift blow of a mere or the sudden thrust of a spear. While the invading warriors lay there, gorging themselves with the flesh of their victims, tidings of what they had done came to the chiefs of Ruapuke. They rallied their men, crossed the Strait in their canoes, and, by a rapid and unexpected onset, completely overpowered their foes. Many of these were in turn cooked and eaten. A few were kept alive as slaves. Several years afterwards they became converts to Christianity, and were baptised by one of the missionaries.

Besides such wars there were other influences of a more subtle, but not less effective, kind at work destroying the Maoris. Many of the men in the numerous whaling ships that frequented the coast were the very off-scourings of society. They had fit associates in the waifs and strays that drifted, like scum, from the penal Colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania. Together they constituted one of the best equipped regiments in the hosts of evil. They introduced the vices and diseases of older lands among the Natives. They supplied them also with fiery liquor and strong tobacco, and led them on to excesses that proved speedily ruinous alike to soul and body. Two-thirds at any rate of the younger women lived with such men, and were dragged down to lower levels of heathenism than their ancestors had known. In many cases their stock of English words consisted of oaths

and ribald jests and blasphemies. At the beginning of the present century there were supposed to be about 2000 Natives at Taiaroa Heads. Before the century was half run out they had dwindled down to less than 50 souls. The full thousand that lived at the Molyneux, within the memory of white people not long dead, was represented in 1844 by a shrunken remnant of about a dozen. At one small bay near the Molyneux about 300 died of measles. Some of the parents, ere dying, are said to have buried their children alive rather than leave them to linger on through the disease to its fatal end.

The engrafting of new fashions on old tendencies generated other kinds of disease, against which they were powerless to cope. Sometimes all the clothing which a Native happened to possess was worn without any regard to temperature. The consequence was that he sweltered under a stifling pressure during intense heat; at other times he might have to go well nigh naked and shivering in the cold, either because he was unable to replace his worn-out apparel, or because he had bartered articles of clothing that were still serviceable for rum. Hacking coughs fretted the night watches of their miserable huts; and many of them died of consumption. They pined away from their haunts like the streaks of snow in the hollows of Mungatua before a hot nor'-wester. Christianity came too late to do more than lift the veil, and allow somewhat of the glory of the heavenly places to illumine the narrow pathway of the few survivors of a rapidly vanishing race. Those who received the Gospel were indeed drawn away by its mighty spell from evil practices, but traces of former habits still clung to them. Their new life was far in advance of the old, and showed clearly by its fruits that it was rooted in Christ. As was to be expected, however, it fell far short of the ripe results of an age-long training among the sanctities of pious homes and the institutions of Christian civilisation. Their poetic temperament was led into the ample store-house of divine grace by a simple faith, and it made touching use of parable. With a pathos befitting their temporal decline they viewed Christ as the Rock of Ages, stable and enduring. They were as shells cleaving to the rock, abiding unharmed despite the swelling waves that crashed and broke against its unyielding front. Or, again, they were like sea birds on the wing, driven hither and thither by the buffeting winds, or on the water, tossed about by its restless waves, until weary of turmoil and storm they fly at last to the solid rock to smooth their ruffled feathers and rest securely there.

It seems a rebuke to our British Christianity that one of the most devoted missionaries amongst the Maoris in Otago should have been sent by the Bremen Society. His name was J. F. H. Wohlers. He was put ashore from the little schooner "Deborah" on the Island of Ruapuke, in May, 1844." The inventory of his possessions is not large; items—"a portmanteau, two woollen rugs, a fowling piece, a little axe and hand saw, a big sack of flour, and some salt." With this slender store of goods—his earthly all—he began a work which was carried on with untiring zeal and a fair measure of success for many years.

Very few of the Maoris were then dressed in European clothes. Some of them wore blankets, others a kind of mat woven with their own hands from the

^{*} Watkin went to Waikouaiti in 1841. He was succeeded by Creed in 1844.

native flax. They lived in low grass huts, with doors about two feet high, through which they had to crawl on all fours. A little above the door there was another opening that let the light in and some of the foul air out. They were very filthy in their habits. When the missionary got a house of his own he set apart a room to serve as audience chamber. There the Natives came to learn to read the New Testament and to air their grievances. The partitions enclosing the room had to be made proof against certain undesirable belongings of his visitors. After they had gone the floor was invariably swept and strewn with fresh sand.

Their food consisted of fish from the sea, eels from creeks and lagoons, pigs that roamed at large, feeding on roots of fern and on the marine life thrown up by the waves or generated among the rotting kelp by the shore. They had also potatoes and young mutton-birds. These last were preserved in a very primitive fashion. They were taken from their holes in the sand just before they were fledged, when they had the appearance of fluffy, unshapely lumps of fat. They were cooked in that state; then lengths of kelp were cut from the rocks and the cellular tissue removed, leaving only the tough skin or rind. These were tied at one end and stuffed with the birds, the melted fat being poured in along with them. When the kelp was filled, the end that had been left open was also firmly tied. The product had the appearance of a great sausage, fitted to nourish the thews of Anakim.

About twenty years before Mr Wohlers went to Ruapuke a sealing station on Stewart's Island had been attacked by Natives, and all the Europeans slain. The provisions and other articles in store puzzled the Natives. They knew nothing about the uses of most of them. They amused themselves by throwing the flour at each other, whitening their brown skins as with a shower of snow. They tasted the soap, and instantly spat it out with disgust. They chewed the tobacco long enough to judge of its quality, and called it, scornfully, *aurangi* (heaven's gall). The gunpowder they flung about in handfuls, with a vague wonder as to what strange plant would grow from such seed. In the evening, as they lay sated with a cannibal feast around a large fire, some sparks got to the gunpowder that had been strewn on the ground, and soon the whole space became a kind of inferno, with jets of flame spurting up everywhere and yelling savages leaping about and jostling each other in utter frenzy.

There were a few converts belonging to the Anglican and Wesleyan Churches on Ruapuke. They had built their places of worship quite close together. When Bishop Selwyn first visited them they asked him what name should be given to the primitive structure. He told them to call the place Babel, and they did so, quite unconscious of the Bishop's irony. They were eager to get Wohlers' opinion about the relative merits of their respective beliefs and modes of worship. They insisted that their relation to *Hahi* and *Wetere* (the Church and Wesley) was like that of a man with two wives—one of them must be a favourite. Which was it ? He laboured to show them that the great thing was to be Christian, and that in Christ Jesus these outward distinctions were seen to be of comparatively little value.*

^{*}See "Autobiography of J. F. H. Wohlers"; translated from the German by John Houghton.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAND PURCHASED.

Hoop had sung "The Song of the Shirt," and set before the eyes of Christian England that haunting figure of the starved and ragged seamstress among her griny surroundings, "sewing at once with a double thread a shroud as well as a shirt." Mrs Browning had unburdened her own pitiful spirit, and given startling utterance to the inarticulate sobs and speechless weariness of thousands of little factory workers, in her "Cry of the Children." Carlyle, too, like some Titan, was at his glowing forge, hammering out, in infinite scorn of all quack remedies, some more feasible scheme than Poor Laws to elevate the people and provide remunerative work for able and willing hands. He got very definite hold of two things, and threw them before the public in a half-contemptuous mood. These were that universal education, with vital godliness at the heart of it, and systematic emigration were of the first importance in any scheme for elevating the toiling masses, and relieving the crushing competition and widespread pauperism of Britain. He had a vision of Britain as the family hearth to which, as the years rolled by, representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race would come from the Antipodes and elsewhere, on great occasions, to acknowledge their kinship and have their affections and interests more firmly welded in the fervour of patriotism. The recent Diamond Jubilee of Victoria's reign has given proof that the dreams of a seer are often nearer reality than the selfish

calculations of immediate profit and loss, among which narrow-minded economists delight to burrow. "What a future," he exclaimed, as the vision grew upon him, "if we had the heart and the heroism for it !" And in the fervour of his imagination he struck these jocund sparks of Gœthe from his ringing anvil :—

> Keep not standing fixed and rooted, Briskly venture, briskly roam. Head and hand, where'er thou foot it, And stout heart are still at home. In what land the sun does visit, Brisk are we whate'er betide. To give space for wandering is it That the world was made so wide,

It did seem an anomaly that in this wide world there should be, as Seeley puts it, "On the one side men without property, on the other side property waiting for men." The problem was how to provide outlets for the starving people, and open up waste lands for their possession and use.

The New Zealand Company had set itself to solve this problem. Its moving spirit was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. He was very clever, and had crowned a somewhat reckless youth by deceiving a lady and inducing her to elope with him to Gretna Green. For this crime he was sentenced to three years in Newgate. He thought of emigrating when his term of imprisonment expired. This led him to study various schemes of colonisation, and gradually the system afterwards known by his name assumed definite form in his mind. He saw clearly that some previous attempts to colonise new lands had in a measure failed because large areas of the soil had been acquired by comparatively few settlers, for the purpose of depasturing flocks and herds. Care had not been taken to have such a proportion of Capital and Labour as would secure that mutual dependence which lies at the basis of society, and gives rise to the varied industries and reciprocal interests of civilised life. The remedy for such a state of things, he thought, lay in disposing of the land in small areas at a fair price, and applying part of the proceeds to introduce people, and open up the land by roads and bridges for productive uses. The scheme, as was afterwards seen, would be all the more complete and likely to prove successful if the Colonists were bound together, not only by descent from a common ancestry, and the traditions of the same father-land, but by the ties of a like religious belief and of similar forms of worship.

To carry out any such system of colonisation, it was necessary that the Company should gain some foothold in New Zealand. The only way of doing this at the time was to deal with the Natives, and make a pretence, at any rate, of buying their ancestral lands. Prior possession may not seem a very philosophical claim to absolute ownership, but it constitutes the only valid title to property that most races possess. The fine country held by the Maoris excited the greed of neighbouring Colonies, and drew many adventurers to its shores. Some of these "bought" large tracts of land at prices that sound ludicrous in modern ears. The transfer of land, indeed, from earliest times has furnished scope for many questionable practices. The Phœnician Dido seemed to be making an honest bargain, with those who occupied the site of Carthage, when she paid for as much land as could be enclosed with the hide of a bull. But when she began to cut up the hide into the narrowest possible stripes, and tie these deftly together, and then, with the long measuring line thus formed, proceed to enclose a sufficient area for building the citadel of Byrsa, the original owners got quite a new insight into the ways of a commercial people. In view of all such practices, one is constrained to admire the straightforward and dignified behaviour of Abraham, as he stood up before the children of Heth, and brushing aside their palaver of generosity, insisted on giving full value for the possession of a burying-place.

A certain Baron de Thiery, whose name one comes frequently across in the complicated histories of early settlement in New Zealand, professed to have bought 40,000 acres for three dozen axes. He frankly acknowledges that it looks a one-sided bargain, but he asserts that an axe was of incalculable value to a Maori, whereas the land was lying waste. He justifies his purchase by precedent as well. To quarrel about standards of barter, and apply the rules that govern exchange in civilised communities to transactions with savages, is virtually, he holds, to condemn Captain Cook and other early navigators, whose praise is in everybody's mouth ! They replenished their failing stores by giving strings of glittering beads and scraps of hoop-iron in exchange for live stock and produce of the soil.

Another adventurer who had made a fortune by land speculation in New South Wales, laid claim to almost the whole of the Middle Island. He had given the stipulated number of coarse blankets, of Brumagem muskets, of kegs of gunpowder, besides a "variety of unsaleable articles from some warehouse in Sydney." Expressed in money value, he had paid at the rate of a farthing a hundred acres.

Sometimes, indeed, the Maoris were reluctant to dispose of their land, but a tempting display of the articles of barter, in most cases, overcame their scruples. The easy road to victory over their enemies, and to rapine and plunder which fire-arms would open up; the sweet music that could be flung from a Jew's harp to win the favour of coy maidens; the delight of beholding one's natural face in a glass, and being able to deck oneself for conquest in love or war; the pleasure that might be got from pipes and tobacco, especially the access of dignity that would surround a man who was able to belch forth clouds of smoke like the summit of Tongariro-these, and such like considerations, won their land from Maori tribes. It appeared, however, in the light of after events that they were not so simple as they seemed to be. "The land belonged to the purchaser, it is true, but there was nothing in the deed to say that the tribes had parted with any of their rights in the trees, the grass, the streams, the fish, the birds, or anything else except the soil. Thus the Pakeha found himself exposed to incessant trespass, or claims of entry, which practically nullified his title."*

It is easy enough to believe that the New Zealand Company consisted of very estimable and well-meaning gentlemen, who doubtless sat in their easy chairs at Home, and took credit to themselves for a most disinterested philanthropy in opening up new fields of enterprise for their poor neighbours. At the same time, it is just as easy to believe that their agent in New Zealand was not over scrupulous at first in the methods by which he acquired a precarious title to the land which

^{*&}quot; Story of New Zealand." By Edward Wakefield.

was offered for sale to intending Colonists. He may have been spurred to boasting by Thiery's brilliant transactions, and eager to show what a bargain he had made for his directors when he said to the Baron, "We got upwards of 1,000,000 acres in the south for less than \pounds 50 in trade." In any case, he said it, and there can be no doubt that at Port Nicholson or Wellington the Company were settling people on land for which they had only the faintest shadow of a title.

All such practices, however, were brought to an end by the Treaty of Waitangi. Chafing under the refusal of the Home Government to sanction the proceedings of the Company, its manager sent out his brother, Col. Wakefield, in the Tory, to arrange for the settlement of Port Nicholson. He was closely followed by Capt. Hobson, and, in the beginning of 1840, the famous Treaty was signed by which the sovereignty of New Zealand and the pre-emptive right to all the land, were ceded to the British Crown. The Company was fairly dealt with. For every five shillings they could show they had spent in reasonable ways, they received an acre of land. Other pretenders to the ownership of large tracts of country had to make good their claims before a Board of Commissioners legally constituted. Even when a claim seemed just, it was shorn of its huge dimensions. All past abuses were thus swept aside, and the way was clear for fair dealing with the Natives under the impartial sway of British rule.

Acting under instructions from the Company, and with the sanction of Captain Fitzroy, who had been directed to that effect on his appointment as Governor, by Lord Stanley the Colonial Secretary, Col. Wakefield

dispatched Mr Tuckett and two assistant surveyors to select a site for a Scotch Colony in the Middle Island. They sailed from Nelson on the 31st March, in the Deborah, a schooner of 120 tons, commanded by Capt. Wing. They proceeded to Wellington, and finally left on the 2nd of April. Among others on the little craft were the two missionaries Wohlers and Creed: Mr Symonds accompanied the survey party as the representative of the Government. His knowledge of the Native character and habits, his previous experience as Sub-Inspector of Aborigines, and his own personal conduct, recommended him for this special service. Amongst other things, Governor Fitzroy wrote : "You will inform the Aboriginal Native population that you are sent to superintend and forward the purchase of land which they wish to sell, and that you, on behalf of the Government, will not authorise nor in any way sanction any proceedings which are not honest, equitable, and in every way irreproachable."

It was intended at first that the site for the Scotch Colony should be somewhere about Port Cooper (now Lyttelton) "provided that a better site could not be found in the Middle Island." A discretionary power of choice was left with Tuckett. He would be able to decide after seeing the places and ascertaining their capabilities. He cid not form a very high opinion cf Port Cooper, and so he sailed further south. "Had Moeraki Bay," he wrote, in his interesting diary, "been accessible to emigrant ships, a better site for a settlement could hardly have been desired." He was also favourably impressed with the country about Waikouaiti. He was not misled by the "poor crop of smutty wheat that had been harvested" on a farm there, nor by the "shadow of a crop of turnips" that was still on the ground. The scanty produce, he considered, was owing to bad farming rather than to poor soil.

Sending the schooner on to Otakou, under the pilotage of Edwin Palmer, he walked overland with three Maori guides. After passing Waitati, he left the circuitous Maori track, and struck into the bush, in order, if possible, to reach the head of the Lower Harbour. He almost despaired for a time of getting through the well nigh "impenetrable forest, with its labyrinth of briars and supplejacks, fallen trees and narrow gullies." The Maoris, however, spurred him on by twitting him with the enquiry, "Where is the road now? Maoris know no road here. This is Tuckett's road." He notes with thankfulness that there is only one species of briar to punish invading man in the woods of New Zealand, "but that one scratches cruelly." It is now known by the significant name of *lawyer*. He descended to the water's edge exactly opposite the schooner, which was anchored, as he had ordered, at the head of the Lower Harbour. Next day, 27th April, 1844, he went to the head of the Upper Harbour. This was the site he had in his mind's eye for New Edinburgh.* "On either side of the harbour," he says, "the forest continues unbroken, good timber is abundant; the soil, notwithstanding that the surface is often rocky and stony, appears to be fertile." The great drawback seemed to him the difficulty of making roads, and the consequent drain upon his Company's fund for public works. He resolved, therefore,

^{*} The name was happily changed to Dunedin—the Gælic word for Edinburgh. $_$

to proceed overland to the south, in the hope of finding a still more suitable site.

He passed the Saddle-back mountain, and notes that it is wooded to the summit, and is "a great pig cover." His guides are disappointed at not finding any Maori huts in either bush in the Taieri plain, "one of which is of great extent." He had a somewhat disagreeable experience at the mouth of the Taieri river, which he reached late at night, after a tiresome scramble along its north bank. He expected to get quarters for the night at the whaling station on the island at the mouth of the river. After he had attracted attention by making a fire and discharging a gun, a Maori came and spoke to him across the water, giving him "cold comfort by the assurance that a boat would come for us in the morning." He got to the island the following afternoon. The people were busy cutting up a recently-captured whale of large size. "Mr ---- received us," his diary relates, "with hospitality. His wife, a sister of Taiaroa, is one of the few Maori women that I have seen capable of being a helpmate to a civilised man, and they keep a very comfortable fireside, not the less so from the bleak barrenness which surrounds their dwellings. Nowhere, perhaps, do twenty Englishmen reside on a spot so comfortless as this naked, inaccessible isle." From Taieri he pushed on along the coast to near the Molyneux. He detected the footprints of a bullock and a pig at the mouth of the Tokomairiro River. The smacking of his lips can almost be heard as he eats his supper by a camp fire on Wangaloa beach. His very face, also, can almost be seen as a certain memory becomes too vivid. It is all graphically described as follows :--- "Made an excellent supper of roast ducks.

which the Maoris basted carefully, catching the dripping fat on feathers, and dressing the birds constantly, but licking off the surplus after each stroke by drawing the feather between their lips—this part of the process was not gratifying." He saw the great seam of coal on the coast; met the schooner in Molyneux Bay, and showed the kindness of his heart by presenting an old Maori woman there with a hundredweight of sugar, a blanket, and a shirt.

He speaks of the wooded richness of Catlins, and of the prosperous whaling settlement at Tautuke; tells us that a little island near that place is well stocked with rabbits, six of which he caught, with the assistance of a capital beagle. He comes across two whaling schooners at the Bluff, the crews of which had just taken a fine whale, and were busily engaged landing the blubber. He explores the New River and its neighbourhood, is stopped by a deep and sluggish stream : walks over a bed of peat, into which he can thrust a spade to the handle without touching ground; sees plenty of bush and grass, with numerous tracks of cattle. He lands on the east bank of the Aparima, on the grass land, and with a spade examines the soil inland for two or three miles. He regrets that he cannot form the settlement hereabouts, "where there are so many facilities and beauties to recommend it for selection, but my duty is clear to me. I had seen far better land, with a better climate; the frequent recurrence of rain at all seasons of the year reduces the number of working days. The degree of cold also is extreme."

He hastened away back, asking the Maoris as he passed along to meet him at Otago, and arrange for the purchase of land there. He reported in due course to Col. Wakefield, who came from Port Nicholson to ratify the selection and complete the purchase of the block. He thoroughly agreed with Tuckett in his choice of Otago. "At Port Cooper," he wrote afterwards, 31st August, 1844, to the Secretary of the Company, "half the labourer's time would be consumed in bringing fuel from a distance to any suitable site for settlement. And it may be safely asserted that a section of 50 acres there would not pay the cost of fencing and building on it in the course of an owner's life. The neighbourhood of Otago is, on the contrary, essentially a poor man's country, containing good land and plenty of wood."

Along with Mr Symonds, Mr Clarke the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, and six Maoris deputed by the assembled Natives of the district, Col. Wakefield walked round the boundaries of the block, or so much of it as enabled them to see the outside features which constituted its natural limits. It consisted of 400,000 acres, and extended from the Heads to the Nuggets. The price Mr Tuckett had agreed to give was f_{2400} . The Natives, to the number of 150, men, women, and children, from all parts of the coast, assembled at Koputai, where Port Chalmers now stands. The boundary of the land was defined in their hearing, the terms of purchase were explained, and ample time was allowed them to talk over the matter. On the 31st July, Mr Clarke addressed the Natives. He told them that "they had now only to receive the payment to complete the transaction for which they had assembled; that they were about to part with the land described in the deed, with all growing on it or under it; that it would be gone from them and their children for ever; that they must respect the white man's land, and the

white man would not touch that reserved by the Natives," The deed was then read in Maori, and agreed to by the Natives. John Tuawaiki, the principal chief, signed it first. After him Karetai, then Taiaroa, and all the others who had tribal interest in the land. The distribution of the money then took place. f_{1000} was given to Tuawaiki in settlement of his own claim and the claims of other Natives in the district of Molyneux. £300 was paid to Taiaroa, and the same amount to Karetai. The rest of the Natives about the Heads received £600, and the Taieri Natives, through Tuawaiki, £200. "The affair," wrote Col. Wakefield, in the letter already referred to, "was concluded during the forenoon, without any disagreeable occurrence, and I have never seen a more satisfactory termination of any New Zealand bargain."

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FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PEOPLE PREPARED.

Some people seem to have great difficulty in understanding the questions that agitated the Church of Scotland through her long struggle of well nigh three hundred years - from the Reformation to the Disruption. Clever people have not hesitated to say that the phrases in common use among the Scottish peasantry-such as the Headship of Christ, the supremacy of conscience, spiritual independence, co-ordinate jurisdiction of Church and State-are meaningless. Now and then sneers are heard from certain guarters at the Nonconformist conscience, as if it were a morbid condition of human nature at variance with sweetness and light. "It's a puir conscience," said a bastard Scotchman, "that'll no rax." But bastard Scotchmen and conceited Englishmen are a degenerate brood which the wholesome parts of the British nation contemptuously disown. It is a signal triumph of truth over error and prejudice to find that principles which were characterised as irrational and visionary have worked themselves into the creeds and practices of almost all the evangelical Churches that are at liberty to govern themselves and shape their polity in accordance with what they hold to be the truth of God. A free Church in a free State is a popular enough watchword now.

The Scottish people started at the Reformation with the great and luminous facts that there is a living God

whose authority is supreme; that He is revealed to men, reconciled to men, accessible to men everywhere and always through Jesus Christ; that conscience, when enlightened by the Word and Spirit of God, is a sufficient guide for its possessor, and ought to be followed at all hazards. In carrying out His purposes among men, they believed that God had instituted two great departments of human activity-the Church and the State. These, though having separate spheres of work, were never to be regarded as hostile. They were rather to be viewed as embracing the entire circle of human interests, the State being specially entrusted with the outward and temporal conditions amid which the Church was to carry on her distinctive mission. The "civil magistrate"using that phrase meanwhile to express the visible form which the governing power might at any time assume —was the representative of God in all civil matters. As such, he was to be honoured and obeyed so long as he did not forfeit all claim to allegiance by intruding within the spiritual sphere, and usurping an authority foreign to his office. The loyalty of the Scottish people to properly constituted authority has often been pathetic in its constancy. They clung with patient devotion to their sovereigns long after it had become clearly manifest to eyes less fond than theirs, that the prerogatives of sovereignty, as in the case of the Stuarts, were being used in the service of the Devil. While the State, as befitted an earthly kingdom, had a visible head, no mortal man could be head of the Church, or gather up into himself the spiritual forces that are available for holy living. Jesus Christ is its only King and Head. He is full of grace and truth. His will is clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures; and away from all the puddles of

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human tradition, the living Church must ever come to Him as the primal and unfailing source of pardon and life and light.

From the very first, the Reformed Church of Scotland asserted her spiritual independence and her right to order her own affairs without the interference of the State. The State, on the other hand, was continually assailing the Church and seeking to capture her ministry and her offices, in order to prostitute them to its own purely secular and often unhallowed ends. There were three ways in which the State sought to strip the Church of the liberty wherewith Christ has made her free: by popery, by prelacy, and by patronage.

In 1560, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act prohibiting the administration of the mass, and abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland. The year following, Queen Mary, fresh from the French Court, with her dazzling beauty set amid a halo of romance, was eager to re-impose the voke of popery on shoulders long galled by its cruel exactions. Her soft manners and purring, guileful ways won over many of the nobles to her side. The common people, however, under the leadership of John Knox, stood four-square to every smooth blandishment and rude assault. They had learned a better way than popery from the few Bibles they possessed, from the lips of their living teachers, and from the dying testimony of such martyrs as Hamilton and Wishart. Along with Knox, they deemed the mass "more fearful than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed on any part of the realm of purpose to suppress the holy religion." With a vigilance that never wearied; with a stern courage that could neither be broken by threats nor made pliant by tears or smiles ;

with an unselfish devotion to God and to his fellowcountrymen that shrank from no sacrifice; with the spiritual insight and political sagacity of a Christian statesman; with deep wells of tenderness in his heart, and the austerity of a saint stamped in every line of his attenuated body—Knox guarded the rights of Christian manhood and the purity of the Church, and secured for his country the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty. All honour to John Knox ! The impact of his great qualities on Scottish history has been felt through all succeeding ages. As Froude has said, he created a nation while he reformed a Church.

During the full century covered by the reigns of James VI. and his descendants, from 1580 to the Revolution in 1688, persistent attempts were made to introduce prelacy into Scotland. In the forefront of opposition, towering above all others, like a mighty crag rising sheer up from the breaking waves, breasting the full brunt of the storm, and sloping away into the quiet, landward fields, Andrew Melville may be seen. His famous words, spoken in the ears of the King in his own palace at Falkland, served as a guiding light to the Covenanters of later times. "Sir," said the intrepid presbyter, "I must tell you there are two Kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is King James, the head of the Commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the Head of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and in whose Kingdom he is not a King, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. We will yield you your place, and give you all due obedience, but again I say you are not the head of the Church." It was simple, and unflinching loyalty to Christ, unswerving obedience to Him, in maintaining the doctrine and polity which

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they in every fibre of their being believed He had prescribed, that brought upon them the long-drawn anguish of "the killing times." Then it was that large spaces of Scottish soil were soaked with the blood of her noblest sons, and her barren moors made to flower with martyrs' graves. It was easy then, and it is easy still, to minimize truth and reduce it almost to a vanishing point, and then taunt people who cleave to it as to the very skirts of God with being too scrupulous, and righteous over much, and martyrs by mistake. But the via crucis is not easy; and those who have walked therein have not, as a rule, been fools scattering dust and chaff, but big-browed, true-hearted men, sowing for future reaping the seeds of holiness and liberty and peace. The records of Scotland's brave and saintly martyrs were stored up in such books as "The Scots Worthies," "The Cloud of Witnesses," and in many a legend and fire-side story, and through these channels the spirit of the martyrs got into the very life-blood of the Scottish people, and prepared them for the last great travail of Disruption, to which Otago owes its birth.

At the Revolution in 1688, and again by the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England in 1707, the Scottish Church was left free to carry on her work under the sole guidance of her Supreme Head. Five years afterwards, the State interfered, and restored the right of *patronage*. The patron was usually the largest landlord in the parish. He claimed the right of presenting a minister to a vacant congregation. He might be the most disreputable man in the whole country-side, and the nimister he presented might be utterly unfit for his office, but the people had no redress. The evangelical section of the Church never hesitated to affirm that the State was acting within its proper sphere in dealing with the temporalities of the Church—such as the manse and glebe and church and stipend—but they resolutely protested when, through the patron, it usurped a power that had been delegated by Christ to the Christian people alone. "It appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister."* "There is a two-fold call necessary for a man's meddling as a builder in the Church of God: there is the call of God and of His Church. God's call consists in qualifying a man for his work. . . The call of the Church lies n the free choice and election of the Christian people."†

Under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers, an attempt was made to find a kind of middle way whereby the civil claims of the patron and the spiritual rights of the people might be conserved. This was called the Veto Act. It provided that in cases where a clear majority of the male communicants of a congregation objected to a presentee, the Presbytery of the bounds should not induct him to be their minister. Even this concession was refused by the State, speaking through its highest court. After this, Chalmers and his followers got to see, with a clearness of living conviction shorn of all doubt, that if the Church were to be free to obey the will and conform to the ordinances of her Redeemer and Lord, she must sever her connection with the State, and sacrifice the buildings, the lands, and stipends, over which the State claimed administrative right. They proved themselves worthy successors of Knox and Melville. On the ever memorable 18th of May, 1843, the protesting

^{*&}quot; First Book of Discipline." 1560. †Ebenezer Erskine. 1732.

majority of the Church, with a calm majesty of purpose that awed beholders, bowed their acknowledgments to the Queen's Commissioner, turned their backs upon the Established Church, walked quietly through a lane of people whose hearts thrilled as with the pæan of a mighty victory; gathered together in the hall at Canonmills, elected Thomas Chalmers as their Moderator, and in the name of their glorious Head, whose presence seemed nearer and more real than ever before, constituted themselves into the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. Four hundred and seventy-four ministers gave up manses and churches endeared in many cases by the associations of a life-time. They signed away stipends that amounted in the aggregate to $f_{100,000}$. Above all, they set an example of religious heroism that quickened the pulse of Christendom, and made it easier for men everywhere to believe in the Cross of Christ and its redeeming issues. The common people in Scotland were moved to generous emulation; and alike in sharing hardships with their ministers, in erecting churches and manses, and in providing all the ecclesiastical equipment that was necessary for carrying on the work of Christ at home and abroad, they clearly showed that they were possessed of high and enduring qualities.

This rapid sketch of the religious elements that helped to mould the character of the first settlers and prepare them for founding a Church in Otago, and building it up on lines drawn in the very heart's blood of their forefathers, would be incomplete without some reference to the educational ideals of Scottish Reformers and Churchmen. "The First Bcok of Discipline," addressed "To the great Councell of Scotland," in 1560, has these noble words : "Of necessity it is that your

honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirst unfainedly the advancement of Christ's glorie, or yet desire the continuance of His benefits to the generation following; for, as the youth must succeed us, so we ought to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most deare to us, to wit, the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus. Of necessitie, therefore, we judge it that every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed, such a one, at least, as is able to teach grammar and the Latine tongue, if the town be of any reputation. . And, furder, we think it expedient that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the Superintendent, there be erected a colledge, in which the arts, at least logick and rhetorick, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed. . . Next, we think it necessary that there be three universities in the whole realm, established in the three towns accustomed: The first in St. Andrew's, the second in Glasgow, and the third in Aberdeen." That in Edinburgh came after in 1582.

But this was not all. There might be "lads o' pairts," smit with a love of learning, capable, if only taken by the hand and made the most of by competent teachers, of rendering noble service to Church and State in their generation, whose poverty might prevent them from attending the seats of learning. And so "we think it expedient that provision be made for those that be poore, and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and, in speciall, those that come from landward." Surely a noble aim : that every child should have a public school provided for it; and that every youth of promise should have an open way through a system of graded schools to the universities. While the system of national education sketched in Knox's book "was realised only in its most imperfect fashion, its system of religious instruction was carried into effect with results that would alone stamp the 'Book of Discipline' as the most important document in Scottish history."* The national system, however, was not by any means allowed to sink out of sight. In the first half of the Seventeenth Century it was frequently before the Parliament. In 1645, it was enacted "that there should be a school founded and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish not already provided." In 1696, definite provision was made for imposing a rate on the owners of land, to erect and maintain school buildings and pay the schoolmasters' salaries. From that date the parish system of primary schools became established. "From these parish schools," it has been truly said, "there have issued forth, generation after generation, ever fresh flights of young, humble, adventurous Scotsmen who, whether in England, India, America, Australia, anywhere, everywhere, wherever intelligence and enterprise were needed, have done honour to their country, and proclaimed that they were the children sprung from the land of Knox." Church and school-the minister and the schoolmaster-have been the chief moulding agencies of Scottish character. By these were the people that founded Otago prepared; by these will people of equal worth be perpetuated.

^{*&}quot; John Knox." By Taylor Innes.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAY ASSOCIATION OF THE FREE CHURCH.

THE Lay Association of the Free Church consisted of about fifty gentlemen,³⁶ "many of them distinguished and influential members of the Church, noted for their philanthropy, patriotism, or general talent and business habits. They agreed to co-operate gratuitously, and from purely disinterested motives, in the project of colonising Otago." The Association was the outcome of a movement that appeared at intervals during two centuries of Scottish history.

During the persecuting times, many people had been driven from their homes and compelled to seek refuge in other lands. Not a few, also, had been induced by love of enterprise and the hope of gain to push their fortunes not only in the lone lands of the New World, but in the crowded cities of Europe. The Church at Home kept her eyes on the scattered members of her flock, and sought in various ways to minister to their spiritual welfare. There were, for example, in the first half of the 17th Century, congregations in Holland comprised almost entirely of Scottish merchants. These were supplied with ministers from the mother Church, and their Kirk Sessions sent representatives to her General Assembly.

At the "plantation of Ulster" by settlers from Ayr, Wigton, and the neighbouring Scottish counties,

^{*} The number varies somewhat in different lists.

ministers accompanied the pioneers to their new homes, and laid the foundation of the Irish Presbyterian Church. In answer to an earnest request for assistance from the Ulster Presbyterians, the General Assembly of 1642 sent some of its ablest ministers to visit them and labour among them for a season.

Looking further afield, the Church saw thousands of her sons scattered about as sheep having no shepherd, and she addressed a pastoral letter to them in 1647. In its fervent love and vearning solicitude for their eternal well-being, it reminds one of St. Paul's epistles. "Unto the Scots merchants and others our countrymen," it begins, "scattered in Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland wisheth grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ." The letter concludes with this generous assurance: "We are ready, upon your desire known to us, to provide some able and godly ministers for you, as likewise to communicate to you our directory for the public worship of God, and our form of ecclesiastical government and discipline, together with the Confession of Faith and Catechism."

The same rooted conviction that it profits men nothing though they gain the whole world and lose their own souls, and the same Christ-like desire to follow men everywhere, amid their dreams of wealth and eager strivings after greatness, with the ministrations of the Church, are very strikingly brought out in the history of the ill-fated Colony of Darien. That was the one great attempt at colonisation made by Scotland as a nation. It seemed to turn the heads of some of her most sagacious men. Yet amid the outward frenzy of excitement that seized all classes of the community, there was a heart of calmness to remember that it was an intelligent godliness alone that gave permanence to national life. And so, with the 1200 who went out in the three ships in 1698, there were ministers and teachers, among the rest Alexander Shiels, author of "The Hind Let Loose."*

During the dreary period of moderatism in the 18th Century, the Church gave very little attention to the Colonies. With the evangelical revival there came a wider outlook and a larger philanthropy. A society was formed in Glasgow in 1825 for the purpose of promoting the spiritual good of the provinces in British North America, whither so many Presbyterians had gone. The commercial relations of Glasgow with these distant Colonies furnished an opportunity, which was gladly welcomed, of pressing their claims on the whole Church. As the result of a growing interest in her expatriated offspring, the Church instituted a Colonial scheme in 1836. In glancing round the wide territory already embraced within the Colonial Empire of Britain, the difficulty of providing Presbyterians with the means of grace became apparent. They were scattered about among other Colonists very much as gold is sometimes scattered in some of our creeks and river-beds. There is just enough of it to show the colour; but it does not exist in sufficient quantities to attract the miner. If the forces of nature had stored the same quantity of gold within narrow limits, there would have been a rush and the opening up of a payable goldfield.

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^{*}Under Macaulay's flashing rhetoric there is great distortion of fact about the failure of Darien.

There were about 4000 people filtering out of the country every year. They went in all directions, and were apt to be absorbed in the communities where their lot was cast. Their national traditions, their religious convictions, their ancestral forms of worship, were ready to vanish amid their new surroundings. In many cases their numbers were too small to justify the Church in following them with her ministries. If the many driblets of emigrants could be brought together to form one great stream, and be directed to some suitable place, to form a homogeneous society, with common beliefs and practices, then, indeed, the means of religion and education could be provided and made available for them with comparative ease. This was the religious aspect of things that moved the Lay Association, and guided its members in their scheme of colonisation.

They were also, no doubt, influenced by a desire to relieve the destitution that was so clamant around them. by settling willing workers on waste lands. They disclaimed any wish to transplant those who were rooted amid favourable circumstances at Home. But they were desirous of opening up a hopeful future for those who could not find work, or were struggling to make an honest living under the exhausting pressure of unremunerative toil. They were animated, also, by the laudable ambition of furnishing an example of successful colonisation; of affording the spectacle of free communities working out highest issues, unhampered by what was bad, while loval to all that was good in their fatherland : producing amid fresh surroundings a nobler Christian society and a better national life than had been hitherto attained. They had the history of the New England Colonies often in their minds and on their

FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

lips. The aims of the Pilgrim Fathers were also theirs. They would have added a hearty "Amen" to Cotton Mather's words: "The whole earth is the Lord's garden, and He hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them. Why, then, should we stand starving here for places of habitation, and in the meantime suffer whole countries as profitable for the use of man to lie waste without improvement? What can be a better or nobler work, and more worthy of a Christian, than to erect and support a reformed particular Church in its infancy, and unite our forces with such a company of faithful people as by timely assistance may grow stronger and prosper."

The Lay Association very gladly, therefore, joined hands with the New Zealand Company, whose eyes were directed to the same end. The scheme was brought before the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1845 by a passage in the Colonial Committee's report, submitted by Dr Candlish in the absence of the Convener. It ran thus: "The General Assembly is aware that a project for the colonisation of the interesting islands of New Zealand has been before the public for several years, and has already been partially carried into effect. In particular, a Scotch Colony to New Zealand was projected two years ago, under the name of New Edinburgh; but all proceedings in relation to that Colony have hitherto been suspended by circumstances to which it is unnecessary to refer in this place. It now appears, however, that all difficulties in the way of this undertaking have been removed, and matters have at length been brought to such a point that there is an immediate prospect of the Colony being established in the most favourable

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circumstances, and with every security for the colonists being provided with the ordinances of religion and the means of education, in connection with this Church.

"Your Committee have recently had laid before them the proceedings and resolutions of an Association of lay members of the Church formed at Glasgow on the 16th inst. for the establishment of this Colony, together with various other documents; and the Committee having carefully considered the documents, and obtained full explanation on the subject to which they relate, took the opportunity of recording their high sense of the liberal and enlightened views which appear to have guided the New Zealand Company in relation to this business; and without expressing any opinion regarding the secular advantages or prospects of the proposed undertaking, which do not fall under their province, and are best left in the hands of the intelligent and honourable gentlemen who comprise the Association -they had no difficulty in stating their warm and cordial approbation of the principles on which this settlement is proposed to be conducted, as making due provision for the religious and educational wants of the colonists: and their anxious desire in these respects to co-operate with the Association, and to countenance and aid their efforts to the utmost of their power." A deliverance cordially endorsing the report was, on the motion of Dr Candlish, unanimously agreed to.

The Terms of Purchase, or Articles of Agreement, as they are sometimes called, entered into with the New Zealand Company, provided for the Association being recognised as the party to promote the settlement. Emigrants were to be selected, and lands were to be sold to persons approved by the Association. Along with the purchasers of land, the Association was to carry out the enterprise on its own principles, and, so far as possible, in its own name, "looking only to the Company for such assistance and acts of trusteeship in the matter of surveys, emigration, and general process of founding the settlement, as may be requisite." Part of the block of 400,000 acres purchased from the Natives and secured by Crown grant was to be divided into properties, and the proceeds of sales appropriated as follows :—

1. The Settlement to comprise one hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred acres of land, divided into two thousand four hundred Properties; and each Property to consist of sixty acres and a quarter, divided into three Allotments; namely, a Town Allotment of quarter of an acre, a Suburban Allotment of ten acres, and a Rural Allotment of fifty acres.

- The 2400 Properties to be appropriated as follows, viz.:— 2000 Properties, or 120,500 acres, for sale to private individuals.
 - 100 Properties, or 6025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the Local Municipal Government.
 - 100 Properties, or 6025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses; and,
 - 200 Properties, or 12,050 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the New Zealand Company.

3. The Price of the land to be fixed in the first instance at forty shillings an acre, or \pounds_{120} tos a Property; to be charged on the estates of the Municipal Government, of the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses, and of the New Zealand Company, in the same manner as on the 2000 Properties intended for sale to private individuals; and the purchase money, $\pounds_{289,200}$, to be appropriated as follows, viz.:—

Emigration and supply of labour (three-eighths, 7s 6d in the \pounds , or $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent) ... \pounds 108,450

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Civil Uses, to be administered by the Company,	
viz.:Surveys and other expenses of founding	
the Settlement, Roads, Bridges, and other	
improvements, including Steam, if hereafter	
deemed expedient, and if the requisite funds	
be found available (two-eighths, 5s in the \pounds ,	
or 25 per cent.) £72,300	,
Religious and Educational Uses, to be administered	
by the Trustees (one eighth, 2s 6d in the \pounds ,	
or $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.)	,
The New Zealand Company, on account of its	
capital and risk (two-eightlis, 5s in the \pounds , or	
25 per cent.) 72,300)

It is to be observed, that from the sum of $\pounds_{36,150}$ to be assigned to the Trustees of Religious and Educational Uses, will be defrayed $\pounds_{12,050}$, the price of 6025 acres to be purchased as the estate of that Trust.

The Association was allowed five years from the date of the first embarkation to sell the 2000 properties to private individuals. If it failed in this, the Company reserved to itself the option of disposing of the remaining properties as it might see fit. In the first draft of the agreement, it was stipulated that 400 properties were to be sold each year, and the despatch of emigrants regulated by such sale. This provision was afterwards cancelled. The order of selecting properties was to be determined by ballot.

Article 24 of the Agreement specified that the Association, along with the purchasers and Colonists whom they might bring forward, were to prepare a *Constitution* for Church and schools. This Constitution, as afterwards prepared, embraced two documents—A *Deed of Trust*, and *Institutes for Church and School*. Under the former, four Trustees were appointed, viz.:—The Rev. Thomas Burns, Messrs Edward Lee, Edward McGlashan, and William Cargill. These Trustees were to have control over the moneys received for religious and educational uses. They were to apply these moneys as directed by the Deed—amongst other things, for the erection of churches and manses, and the payment of ministers' stipends and schoolmasters' salaries. They were to act in all matters with the concurrence of the minister of the first church, or the Presbytery as soon as it was formed.

The Institutes declare that the Church of the Otago Settlement, with the schools attached thereto, is planted as a branch of the Free Church of Scotland, and is to be formed upon the model of that Church, and governed according to its doctrines, polity, and discipline, as these are presented in the Standards of the Westminster Assembly. They provided that until the formation of a Presbytery the Church should be under the judicatory of the Free Church of Scotland. They provided, further, for the formation of a Presbytery or Presbyteries, "to be composed of ministers in connection with the Free Church of Scotland in Otago, and the other settlements in New Zealand, and of the elders representing the Kirk Sessions of the several congregations." The Institutes also provided for the appointment of ministers and teachers; for the management of schools, and the fixing of fees. Deacons' Courts were to have the right to admit to the schools such orphans and poor children as they might think fit, without charge.

The great advantages held out by the Association attracted not a few who had families for whom they wished freer scope than their native land afforded, along with, at least, equal facilities for religious and moral training. They also attracted young people—farmservants and tradesmen — who were indulging day dreams of love and marriage, but were prevented from attaining their very modest aspirations by the galling restraints of insufficient work and poor pay—such young people as were humming with more desire than hope—

> Gin I had a wee house an' a canty wee fire, An' a little wee wife to praise and admire; Wi' a bonnie wee yardie beside a wee burn, Farewell to the bodies that yammer an' mourn.

CHAPTER VI.

EXODUS.

AT a meeting of the Lay Association held in Glasgow on the 10th of August, 1847, it was unanimously agreed to issue an address to the people of Scotland. This address takes note of the delay that had arisen in connection with the scheme for colonising Otago. "The state of New Zealand affairs was such that it became necessary to pause until certain grievances should be redressed, and the birthright of British emigrants should have been properly and substantially secured." It goes on to specify how one by one barriers had been removed and a clear way opened up for the safe progress of even the most cautious feet. A Crown grant, or charter, had been issued on the 13th April, 1846, whereby the "Otago Block" was conveyed to the New Zealand Company. An Act of the British Parliament, passed in August of the same year, had secured for the Colony the right so dear to the British race, of governing and taxing themselves. This "Constitution Act," as it was afterwards called, was suspended for some years, at the instance of Governor Grey. At the time the address was issued, however, there seemed every prospect of the form of representative government, by Provincial Councils and General Assembly, which afterwards prevailed, being immediately carried into effect. According to the address, the reports concerning the internal survey of the Block were also entirely satisfactory. Mr Chas. H. Kettle, with two assistant surveyors and a

staff of twenty-five men, had been for some time at the work, and was expected to have the various properties mapped off and ready for selection and occupation by the end of 1847. The Home Government was no longer opposed to the New Zealand Company, but had granted it a charter as a colonising body, so that in all future attempts at colonisation the Home Government would be responsible for the maintenance of peace and the security of life and property. Every Colonist would be under the protection of British rule.

The delay of about four years had thus been eminently fruitful in all the elements fitted to impart freedom and stability to the projected Settlement, and provide the outward conditions necessary to its success. The Association was now able to set an open door before the struggling population of Scotland, and direct their attention to a promising outlet for their energies. They were invited to look carefully into the provisions that had been made and the home that had been secured for an offshoot of the Free Church community, in all its integrity and with all its institutions.

There was a ready response to the appeal of the Association on the part of not a few. It was no easy matter, however, for some of those who had little difficulty in making up their own minds to overcome the fears of their relatives, and break away from the clinging affections of loved ones. A near relative of one who intended to leave with his wife and family by the first ship burst into the house one day with an old newspaper, containing a report of the massacre at Wairau, near Nelson, in 1843. He read the details of that disaster with as much effect as possible. His voice and manner gathered an urgency of dissuasive appeal

as he proceeded with the burning of the surveyors' huts by Rauparaha and the members of his tribe, who regarded themselves as the rightful owners of the land that was being pegged off; the futile attempt of armed men to arrest the incendiaries; the accidental discharge of a gun that hurt nobody, but at once roused the Natives to active hosility; the parley under a flag of truce, with the surrender of the Europeans; then the sudden passion of Rangihaeta on discovering that one of his wives had been killed by a stray bullet, and the murder of twenty-five unarmed prisoners. After all that, surely no one would be so lacking in ordinary prudence as to venture his own life in such a place, or so utterly destitute of natural affection as to expose his wife and children to the tender mercies of such savages!

Another of the first settlers tells how difficult it was for him to break away from "the loving hearts of a father's home." His wife even took sides against him, and tried to get his minister to dissuade him from his rash enterprise. The minister was so far won over as to withhold a certificate of character for a time, thinking thereby to suppress what he, too, doubtless regarded as a passing whim, or a hot-brained fantasy that time and cool reflection would dissipate. As a rule, however, the men who made up their minds to go forth to the promised land were not creatures of impulse. They acted deliberately, getting all available information, and praying to God for guidance; and so they were not to be turned aside from their purpose by the airy phantoms conjured up by fond and less enterprising relatives. They saw a vision, and heard a voice in the privacy of their own being, and with clear eye and resolute step they followed its beckoning.

The John Wickliffe, commanded by Capt. Daily, sailed from Gravesend in the first week of December. She had on board Capt. Cargill, the Rev. Mr Nicholson (a Free Church minister en route to Nelson), and ninety passengers, about a score of whom were bound for Wellington. After being driven back into Portsmouth by stress of weather, she finally left the shores of England on the 14th of December. She held on in the teeth of a gale that swept other vessels on the same course back into the shelter of the English Channel. Her sea-going qualities were, however, put to a severe test. The straining of her timbers made her leaky, and as the passengers were cooped up below during the protracted storm, their lot was by no means enviable. Clothes and bedding got soaked. There were no means of drying them, and for a time the steerage and its berths were cold and comfortless enough. The women and the children suffered most. Soon the ship sailed into sunnier and calmer latitudes, and the storm and its hardships were speedily forgotten. The Captain shaped his course well to the south, in order the sooner to run down his easting, but having met icebergs in 49 deg., he hauled about due east. The vessel was becalmed for two days close to Kerguelen Land. Capt. Cargill procured a sketch of the island, which he sent Home, with a vivid description of its changing appearance, as seen from the deck. On the first day, it rose up like a dark, massive wall, lofty, rugged, and sublime, with its summits veiled by a dense cloud that hung down to within about 800 feet of its base. The second day, under a bright sun the veil was gradually lifted, and ridge after ridge, peak after peak, came into view, with many a receding hollow full of the glistering whiteness of untrodden snow. It was a pleasant break in the

monotony of the voyage to lean over the bulwarks of the becalmed vessel, and gaze at the shifting panorama a few miles away. Indeed, after the first rude buffeting, the rest of the voyage seems to have been like a summer excursion. The "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" had no restraining effect upon the passengers, begat no reverence in them for the mysterious albatross. They had twelve of them on board at one time. It was in no way owing to superior courage that they captured so many of these noble birds. One of them relates how he went into the fore chains for a harpoon that was fastened there, and saw a huge shark gliding below, and looking up at him with a cold, hungry eye, so that he was fain to creep back on deck as quickly as possible. Several of the passengers were in delicate health when they embarked, but so pleasant was the voyage that they became quite robust. They arrived in the Otago Harbour without mishap on the 22nd of March.

The Philip Laing, a vessel of 400 tons, sailed from Greenock on the 27th November, 1847. She was under the charge of Captain Ellis. She had on board the Rev. Thomas Burns the first minister, Mr James Blackie the first teacher of the new settlement, and 234 other passengers, 87 of whom were children under fourteen years of age. Ere leaving "the Tail of the Bank," a farewell service was conducted by the Rev. Patrick Macfarlane. He was a man of note in the annals of the Free Church. He belonged to a family that had for four generations in succession held office in the Church of Scotland. His living was the richest in the Church, and his name was the first adhibited to that Deed of Demission whereby so many ministers gave up their earthly all for conscience sake. The mere presence of such a man, apart from his wise words of guidance and encouragement, would be a powerful incentive to that little band always to set the claims of duty before pleasure or the love of ease or the lust of gain. At the close of the service they sang together the second paraphrase of the old Scottish collection, "O God of Bethel." It hardly needs to be said that as the eyes of the singers looked round on the features of the dear Fatherland which they might never see again in their waking hours, or gazed into the faces of loved ones from whom they were soon to be parted, perhaps never more to meet on earth, their voices became tremulous with deep emotion, even while their hearts gathered more resoluteness of purpose to cling to every high quality that had made their native country great. Some thoughtless lad wading in the shallows of that western firth heard the voice of the singers, and listening intently, caught the familiar words and felt his soul touched to higher issues-

> O spread Thy covering wings around Till all our wanderings cease, And at our Father's loved abode Our souls arrive in peace.

They, too, were tried at the outset of the voyage by stormy weather, and had to seek shelter in Milford Haven. It's an ill wind, however, that blows nobody good. Some complaints were made about the dietary scale that led to improvements, of which succeeding vessels got the benefit. It may be inferred that the fresh breezes were more conducive to sleep than the narrow bunks and the lean mattresses. One of the passengers afterwards wrote very feelingly to a friend at Home, urging him when he came to bring "two good pillows and a mattress, as the ship's ones were too thin." The utmost cleanliness was observed amongst the passengers, under the skilful supervision of Dr Ramsay. But for this, the little vessel, so crowded in every part, would soon have become a floating pest-house. Strict discipline was also maintained. The Captain and minister were clothed with magisterial powers; and when on one occasion a serious offence was committed, they gave further impressiveness to their authority by the formalities of a trial. The mimic trial was regarded as very dignified and salutary by some. Less reverend spirits made fun of it below.

The cramped space furnished ample scope for the manifestation of the finest qualities of character. It became also a theatre for the display of all that was selfish and mean in human nature. It was a miniature world of loves and hates and hopes and fears. There were three marriages on board, and rumour was kept busy with other matrimonial projects. The voyage might have been smarter, some were inclined to say, if the Captain had not found it so pleasant to walk the deck, or watch the stars come out in tropical skies, with the minister's eldest daughter by his side. However, they walked and watched to good purpose, as their after union testified. There were three births and four deaths during the voyage. All who died were little children. Greater even than the pang of leaving the old home must have been the anguish of the mothers as the bodies of their little ones dropped with a sullen plunge into their vast and wandering graves. As they lay awake in the dark nights and heard the cold water breaking and gurgling against the ship's side, how their motherly hearts must have wished that what was mortal of their loved ones had been resting under the daisied sod in



SOME PIONEER MEMBERS.

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the quiet churchyard! How often, too, in the quiet evenings, as the passengers sat practising Psalm tunes or singing the songs of their native land, while the children romped about the deck or played hide-and-seek round the galley or in the forecastle, these bereaved mothers would revert to their little ones, mayhap thinking of the time when the sea, too, would give up its dead! Time passed, however, with its daily rounds and brought fresh interests to sorrowing hearts.

Divine service was held regularly twice a day and three times on Sunday. Certain hours, forenoon and afternoon, five days a week, were devoted to school work, in which Mr Blackie was assisted by several of the passengers. There was also a Sunday School under the superintendence of the teacher, and a Bible Class conducted by the minister. After the routine of daily duty, high and far-reaching thoughts came occasionally to most as they sauntered on the deck or lounged about the bulwarks. On a fine star-lit night in the Tropics the minister was asked why he had left useful work and good prospects for himself and family at Home to come on such a venture to an unknown land. "Well," he virtually replied, "I don't often speak of it, but I had a great wish to be instrumental under God in founding a branch of our Church in Otago, which I hope will leave a Christian impress on the Settlement long after I am called away."

"After the lapse of nearly four months," wrote Mr Burns, "without seeing aught but the heavens above us and the wide waste of waters all around us, the ship like a thing of life and of more than mortal sagacity, glided with perfect precision and without hesitation or mistake into its destined place at the farthest corner of the earth." So He bringeth them to their desired haven. They were all delighted with the scenery. The hills were clothed to their summits with sylvan beauty, and the blue waters of the little bays that indented the shore lapped peacefully their beaches of yellow sand. Some, however, who were more deeply interested in the practical than in the picturesque aspect of things wondered how such steep and densely-wooded slopes were to be made tractable to the plough. They were soon reminded that they had only entered the portals of the new land, and that, away beyond the girdling hills, there lay great stretches of fertile plains that with little effort would break forth into smiling corn-fields or rich pastures to cheer the heart and reward the toil of the husbandman. It was felt to be in every way becoming that the minister should give an opportunity to all of meeting together, and unitedly thanking God for His goodness in bringing them safely to the promised land. And so the voyage that began with supplication and an eager straining of desire, closed with thanksgiving and a large measure of satisfaction.

CHAPTER VII.

CAPTAIN CARGILL.

THE thirtieth clause in the original Terms of Purchase or Articles of Agreement between the New Zealand Company and the Lay Association ran thus :---" William Cargill, Esq., to be recognised as the Company's agent for the settlement of Otago; the sentiments of the Directors of the Company with regard to that gentleman being in entire unison with those expressed by the Association in its seventh resolution of the 16th of May, 1845. Their high opinion of Mr. Cargill has been formed upon a personal observation for a course of years of his integrity, energy, efficiency, and perseverance; and their confidence in his fitness for organising the first party of settlers, upon the constitution of which must depend so materially the future character of the Settlement, is confirmed by the able and judicious manner in which during that period, and in recent negotiations with Her Majesty's Government, he has represented in London the views and wishes of the Association and other parties in Scotland."

He was a descendant of Donald Cargill. It is an honoured name in Scotland. It is closely associated with Bothwell Brig, that Flodden Field of Covenanting times, when the disciplined troops of England, under the Duke of Monmouth, cut down the raw volunteers of the Covenant, many of whom prayed frequently, but disputed too much and drilled too seldom. The old ballad shows how unequal the combat wasThey stelled their cannons on the height, And showered their shot down on the howe, And beat our Scots lads even down Till they lay slain on every knowe. Alang the brae, ayont the brig, Brave men in heaps lie cauld and still : Oh, lang we'll mind, and sair we'll rue The bludie battle o' Bothwell Hill.

Donald Cargill was present there and taken prisoner, but as his wounds seemed fatal, he was left by his captors. He lived on, however, and did noble service afterwards in the cause of freedom. He had a hand in the drawing up of the famous Sanguhar Declaration, which virtually raised the standard of rebellion against Charles II., and denounced him as a tyrant and usurper over the heritage of God. The twenty men who rode into Sanguhar and read the famous Declaration at the Market Cross in 1680 may be laughed at or sneered at, as one or other easy exercise happens to fit the mood of their critics, but it was a deed done calmly in face of death; and their example was followed not long after by the Kingdom that threw off the successor of Charles in the year of the Revolution. These Covenanters were pioneers in the march of progress, and had often to walk in toilsome and lonely ways marked out only by the footprints of the Crucified One. It was Donald Cargill, the same fearless man, clad in the panoply of heavenly mail, and speaking with dignity as a messenger of God, that pronounced sentence of excommunication against Charles at Torwood in Stirlingshire. A reward of 3000 merks was put upon his head, and he knew that he could not long escape. When at last taken priscner, he was condemned to be hung on a gallows in the Grassmarket, Edinburgh. On the scaffold he was not allowed to address the crowd of onlookers, but he sang with firm voice part of the 118th Psalm—

> The mighty Lord is on my side, I will not be afraid; For anything that man can do, I shall not be dismayed.

After he was dead, the hangman "cut off his hands and hashed and hagged his head off" to fasten them on to Nether Bow. His body was laid in Greyfriars Churchyard, and the Martyrs' Monument still marks his resting-place there. Hugh Miller was wont to notice after a fall of snow that the first footprints were in the direction of that old gray monument.

Donald Cargill was gentle as he was bold. To his personal virtues his friends bear the most glowing testimony. "He was abstemious, self-denying, tenderhearted, generous to the poor, and most sympathetic, as well as full of devotion and faith."

From such a stock Captain Cargill sprung; and those who knew him best saw in him precisely the same qualities, somewhat softened to suit their new setting amid more peaceful times. He was born in Edinburgh in 1784. His father was a Writer to the Signet. He attended the old High School in Edinburgh, under the rectorship of Dr. Adams. To be under that prince of teachers was, as with Arnold of Rugby, an education in itself. The future rector was the son of poor parents, and from his boyhood had to work hard for a living. In order to make time for study he was wont to rise early. During the dark winter mornings he conned his little Elzevir edition of Livy, and did other self-imposed tasks, by the light of splinters of resinous wood dug up from the adjoining moss. When he became a student at the Edinburgh University he lodged in a small room, for which he paid fourpence a week. His breakfast consisted of oatmeal porridge with small beer; his dinner often of a penny loaf and a drink of water. His attainments as a scholar were only excelled by his fame as a teacher. He was even more enthusiastic in imparting knowledge than in acquiring it. When the light of mortal life was fading from his eyes he still fancied he was among his scholars, and quietly said with his last breath, "But it grows dark; boys, you may go!" and instantly expired, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, on the 18th December, 1809.

Stirring traditions hung about the gray walls of that old school. Walter Scott just left it the year before Cargill was born. For a while, too, his brother Robert and he had for tutor a youth who afterwards became known throughout Christendom as Dr. Thomas Chalmers. It was surely to the credit alike of pupil and tutor that this passing contact in a world of change ripened into a life-long friendship. In 1802 young Cargill obtained a commission as ensign in the 84th Regiment. He joined the regiment at Calcutta, and shortly afterwards proceeded to Madras. While there he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 74th Highlanders. This regiment had done gallant service at the Battle of Assave, when 50,000 Mahrattas, the very flower of Indian soldiery, drilled by French officers, were completely routed by 8000 men under General Wesley. The brilliant victory was won, however, at great cost to the 74th. All the regimental officers, except the paymaster, were killed or wounded. It was into a vacancy thus

created that Cargill stepped. The prestige of such a regiment, along with the stories of heroic deeds told at the mess table and in the barrack-room, was in itself a continual incentive to the young lieutenant, and doubtless helped to foster those sterling qualities which he manifested in later life. After serving some time in Southern India, he went Home with his regiment in 1807. Soon they received orders to proceed to the Peninsula, where they joined the army of the Duke of Wellington, after the battle of Talavera. He was actively engaged at Busaco when Marshal Masseno, with over 70,000 men, attempted with great bravery to dislodge Wellington, with full 25,000 men, from the rugged Sierra of that The French Marshal had, indeed, well nigh name. accomplished his design when, at the order to charge, " 1800 British bayonets went sparkling over the brow of the hill," and like an outburst of forked lightning overwhelmed the head of the French column. Cargill was severely wounded in the leg by a bullet. He was invalided, and sent home for two years. The surgeons wanted to amputate his wounded leg, but he stuck out against it, and after a time completely recovered. After rejoining his regiment, he was promoted to a Captaincy. He was present at the occupation of Madrid, and afterwards at the decisive battle of Vittoria. During a critical stage in that battle, his regiment drove the French advanced post through the village of Ariniez at the point of the bayonet. He saw the almost fabulous booty left in the track of the retreating army of Joseph Buonaparte, and listened to the improvised auctions at which even dollars, because they were deemed too heavy to carry, were put up for sale at the rate of eight for a guinea. He shared also in the battles of the Pyrenees. fought on the banks of the Nivelle, and the Nive;

contributed to the defeat of Soult at Orthez, and was present at the last victory won over that famous Marshal at Toulouse, on the 10th of April, 1814. At the close of the war in the Peninsula, he returned home. When the great disturber of the peace of Europe, Napoleon Buonaparte, escaped from Elba, the Duke of Wellington was sent to the Netherlands; and the two greatest Generals of their age were moving to decide the fortunes of Europe on the field of Waterloo. The 74th were under orders to join Wellington; but the vessel in which they had embarked was weather-bound in the harbour of Cork. Before she could set sail, the decisive battle was fought, and the spell of Napoleon for ever broken. And so Capt. Cargill just missed being a "Waterloo man."

He retired from military service in 1821, and entered into business in Edinburgh, where he remained till 1834. In his desire for a larger life he resolved to emigrate to Canada under the system of military settlements there, which were meant to check the uprisings of the French. He was dissuaded from this step only at the last moment, and went instead to be manager of a branch bank at York. Two years later he became manager of the East of England Bank at Norwich. In 1842 he was drawn to London, and served on the directorate of the Oriental Bank Corporation. From the year 1844 he took a keen interest in the Otago scheme, was gradually drawn into contact with its promoters, earned the high esteem, as has been seen, of both the New Zealand Company and the Lay Association, and at length by general consent was appointed to the leadership of the New Exodus, of which on a small scale he has been aptly termed the Moses.



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The open letter which he addressed, in 1847, to Dr. Aldcorn on the Free Church Colony of Otago is characterised by wide reading and a firm grasp of principles, as well as by a keen appreciation of the special work in which he was engaged, and its probable issues in the future. A few sentences from that letter will show the end he had in view, and the spirit in which he worked : "We cannot over-estimate the importance of instantly occupying, according to our means and admitted character, that portion of the field which in the providence of our God is laid open to us. In so doing we shall be enabled, amongst other things, to lay the foundation of a Church in which the true Gospel may continue to be preached, down, perhaps, to the remotest generations; of a system of schools according to the most approved method of the Free Church ; and of an independent Scottish race in the far south, which shall be equally distinguished with their kinsmen in the far north. . . . Nor do we in such anticipations at all over-estimate the sober realities of our position. We profess to adopt the spirit and to follow the steps of the 'Pilgrim Fathers.' What then has been the actual fruits of their enterprise?" He glances at the wonderful success of the New England States, notwithstanding the difficulties they had to encounter, and the wholesome influence they have exerted on the religious and educational life of the entire American union; and then proceeds: "It is no small thing, therefore, that lies at our door. We know that it is the religious element which alone can give consistency, and bring down the blessing of heaven upon our undertaking; and it now seems laid upon us to prove to the world, by a second example, that it was the presence of that element which had vielded so rich a harvest in the case of New England." The same spirit breathed in the address

which he delivered to the first settlers on the arrival of the Philip Laing, and the same stimulating history of the hardy New Englanders, amid the rigours of their six months' winter, was recounted in the hearing of those who, under more favourable auspices, set eyes on a country much fuller of promise than the barren shores of Massachusetts.

When the New Zealand Company surrendered its charter in 1850 he was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands till the Association's term of office expired in 1852. That same year the Constitution Act came into force, and on the 6th September the following year he was unanimously chosen first Superintendent of the Province of Otago. He was re-elected to the same high office, and continued to fill it till 1860, about eight months before his death. After the prosperity of the Province was well assured, his Executive urged him to accept a higher salary, but he firmly declined in view of the still slender revenue of the Province and its clamant need for roads and bridges. No one who saw him moving about the recently-formed streets of Dunedin in the early days, making the most of his 5ft. 5in. of stature by an erect bearing, with a short, firm step, and an alert, kindly eye glancing under pent brows always well shaded with a Scottish blue bonnet, could have any doubt about the interest he took, or the place he filled, in the varied life of the growing community. The people honoured him while he lived, and sought after his death to perpetuate his memory in the well-known Cargill Monument. It may not be very massive or imposing in form, and its details may not be rich in artistic display, but its very presence is expressive of a people's gratitude, and its water is symbolic of the perennial influence which his useful life continues to exert on the Settlement of which he was a chief founder.

FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

CHAPTER VIII.

REV. THOMAS BURNS.

THE Lay Association were able to hold out many inducements to intending settlers. One of them was made very prominent. "The Settlement," says one of their reports, " is peculiarly favoured in having for its first minister the Rey, Thomas Burns. To an earnest concern for the interests of religion, and a constant personal sense of it, he unites a large experience, sound judgment and kind disposition." There was much to kindle the patriotism, as well as to fire the religious and emotional instincts of Scotchmen in the fact that, while the leader of the Settlement was a direct descendant of the Scottish martyr, the founder of the Church was a nephew of the Scottish bard. He was born on the 10th of April, 1796, at Mossgiel, a farm of about one hundred and eighteen acres of cold, clavey soil, close to the village of Mauchline, in Ayrshire. He was the third son of Gilbert Burns. The opinion which the poet, in his well-known Autobiography, expresses regarding his brother Gilbert is of high value. "My brother," he says, "wanted my hair-brained imagination as well as my social and amorous madness; but in good sense and every sober qualification, he was far my superior." No one, surely, had better opportunities of testing a brother's qualities, for Gilbert and he, with the little money they could scrape together from the wreck of their father's fortunes, became partners in leasing and stocking the farm at Mossgiel. During the four years the informal

partnership lasted, there was enough to test character in hard work and frugal living and failure of crops, the first year from bad seed, the second from a late harvest. Robert broke away from ceaseless drudgery on ungenerous soil that would only yield an allowance of about \pounds_7 a year to each of them. Gilbert toiled on. Thomas was the third in a succession of six sons. It is interesting to note that he was born just about three months before his great uncle died. During the same April of the future minister's birth, the dying poet wrote to his friend Thomson: "Alas! I fear it will be long before I tune my lyre again. I have only known existence by the presence of the heavy hand of sickness, and counted time by the repercussion of pain. I close my eyes in misery, and open them without hope."

Thomas, like other boys, would doubtless learn some of his best and most permanent lessons at home, on his mother's knees, or by his father's side, as he walked behind the plough or handled peats in the adjoining moss, or swayed the scythe in the harvest field; at the evening exercise, also, when the Book was taken and the scene so graphically described in the "Cottar's Saturday Night" was repeated, with no slackening of intelligence and no waning of devotion. When he was old enough he went with his elder brothers to the parish school, where he laid the foundations of his future scholarship on the low levels where all must begin. His father after a time removed to another farm at Closeburn, in Dumfriesshire. This change brought the family within reach of the famous Wallace Hall Academy, blest then and still with the priceless dower of being able to inspire young souls with a genuine love of learning, and to drill their raw faculties into habits of study that have led

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many of them to high success. When at Closeburn, his father received from Lord Erskine an appointment as factor to his Blantyre estates in the neighbourhood of Haddington. Gilbert Burns knew something of the misery which a priggish factor, dressed in a little brief authority, could inflict on honest folk ten thousand times better than himself. The sight of his good father's bitter experiences had burned itself into his memory, as well as into that of his more sensitive brother—

> I've noticed on our Laird's court-day, An' mony a time my heart's been wae, Poor tenant bodies scant o' cash How they maun thole a factor's snash : He'll stamp an' thunder, curse an' swear, He'll apprehend them, poind their gear : While they maun stan', in aspect humble, An' hear it a', an' fear, an' tremble.

Gilbert Burns was of a different stamp, and the opening minds of his sons got the benefit of his sterling rectitude of character, and his utter freedom from the baseness either of fawning on superiors or lording it over inferiors.

The burgh of Haddington had old-world legends ready to drop into receptive minds. John Knox was born somewhere thereabout. Thither also in the spring of 1546 George Wishart had come. And it was a sight the people of East Lothian might well rub their eyes to see again when Wishart walked abroad preceded by his faithful attendant Knox, bearing a two-handed sword, which it may be taken for granted was there not for ornament but for use. The story ran that under the shadowing presentiment of his coming arrest Wishart bade good-night to all his friends, as if for ever. Knox pressed to be allowed to stay with him. "Nay," said Wishart, "one is sufficient for one sacrifice." And noticing, perhaps, a growing menace in Knox's eye, for he was young and fiery as yet and needed much hard schooling, he caused the sword to be taken from him. The same night he was arrested, and was soon burning as a heretic in front of Archbishop Beaton's castle of St. Andrews. Those who saw how vigilantly the Rev. Thomas Burns eyed the movements of papal Rome, and marked the vehemence which he threw into his denunciations of ultramontanism in the auld kirk by the beach, can guess how much of all that was owing to the legendary air of Haddington.

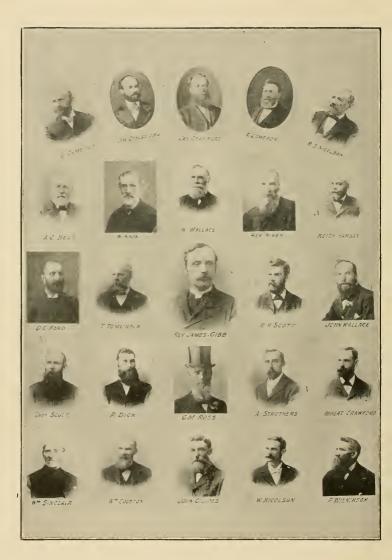
There was a man cast in the antique mould teaching in the Mathematical School of the burgh. His name was Edward Irving. He had been through an Arts curriculum at the Edinburgh University, and had just finished his first year in the Divinity Hall when he got this appointment. "Among those," says Mrs. Oliphant, "who had children at the Mathematical School and opened his house to the teacher, was Gilbert Burns, with whom he is said to have had some degree of intimacy." That young Burns profited by the teaching of Irving is conclusively shown by the prize which he received, bearing the following inscription in the master's own handwriting :--- "From Edward Irving to Thomas Burns, this book is presented as a testimony of that esteem which his industry and success, while his pupil, have procured him. Haddington, 12th October, 1812." We may be sure that mathematics was not all he learned from that tall, ruddy, robust, handsome youth, so cheerful and kindly disposed, with an easy knack of winning the confidence of his pupils. Young Burns was doubtless in that famous tramp after school-hours with Irving

to hear Dr. Chalmers in St. George's, Edinburgh. Under their leader the boys got to the gallery, and were making for an empty pew, when they were stopped by a man who put his arm across the pew and told them it was engaged. Irving remonstrated; at such a time all pews should be open to the public; but in vain. At last his patience gave way, and raising his hand, he exclaimed with great dramatic effect, "Remove your arm or I will shatter it to pieces." The man shrank back in utter dismay, while the delighted boys took possession of the pew. Many a sleeping bird sitting in the hedgerows with its head under its wing would be startled by the ringing laughter of the lads on their way back to Haddington as they recounted, not the merits of the wondrous oratory to which they had listened, but the dramatic details which they had witnessed in the capture of the pew. The journey of thirty-five miles to and fro would seem a small price for such fun.

Burns went to Edinburgh, and became an Arts student in its famous University at the age of sixteen. It seems too early. A boy at that stage can hardly profit by the lectures of learned Professors, but it was no uncommon thing at that time in Scotland. Chalmers went to St. Andrews when he was but twelve. Irving came up from Annandale when he was thirteen. So far as Classics and Mathematics were concerned, they had the benefit of tutorial classes, and as for the mental and moral philosophy, for which the Scottish University was famous, they had just to wrestle with it as best they might. Burns acquitted himself with distinction. All his studies were directed to the ministry, and so after the four years of his Arts curriculum, he entered the Divinity Hall. Theological training in Scotland covers

four years, and, to speak in a figure-applicable to that era, though happily not to the present-after traversing the ground trodden hard by the passing feet of many generations, with not a blade of dewy grass, or a flower of radiant colour to relieve the barren surface, the student appears before his clerical superiors to unfold his garnered treasures, that they may be able to determine whether he is worthy of being promoted to the higher walks of ministerial life. In plain prose, he is carefully examined by the Presbytery on the subjects of his four years' study ere he can be licensed to preach the Gospel. Burns passed the ordeal satisfactorily, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington in 1823. Towards the close of his studies, and for a short time as licentiate, he acted as tutor in several families of note. This was a very necessary part of a student's equipment. It brushed up his manners; it swept away some "idols of the tribe"; it fattened his lean purse; and sometimes it opened up for the young aspirant a pulpit of his own in which to wag his pow. This was the result in Burns' case. He was tutor in Sir Hugh Dalrymple's family; the living of Ballantrae fell vacant; Sir Hugh was the patron, and he presented Burns to the living.

For five years he went out and in among his people with a grace of bearing and a devotion to duty that won their hearts. Some miles away in the same county there was a manse to which he often gravitated. It was the manse of Monkton, where the Rev. John Steele Oughterstone dwelt. Doubtless the young minister tried hard at first to persuade himself that the company of his older and more experienced friend and brother was of the highest value to him at the beginning of his career; but the scales soon fell from his eyes, and he saw in the



FIRST CHURCH (DUNEDIN) SESSION.

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minister's niece a more attractive companion. Then came the story old as Eden. The newspaper of the period duly announced that the Rev. Thomas Burns, parish minister of Ballantrae, was married to Miss Clementina Grant, daughter of the Rev. James Francis Grant, Rector of Rodness, England. By and by the uncle died; Mr. Burns was presented to the vacant parish of Monkton, and he led his wife back in 1830 to the home where he had wooed and married her.

For the next thirteen years he laboured in the holy ministry with fidelity to his Master and much acceptance and profit to his people. He belonged to the Evangelical party in the Church, and the common people heard him gladly. They had grown weary of the dry-rot of moderatism, and longed for a breath of heaven's pure evangel. So wide-spread was his influence throughout Ayrshire-a county blighted more than most at that time with the dead-weight of a worldly Church-that when the trying time came at the Disruption, many of the ministers who stayed in found that the bulk of their flock went out to share the fortunes of the Free Church. Partly because others who were capable enough were too lazy, and partly because they had supreme confidence in him, he was appointed Clerk of the Presbytery. Nor did he neglect the externals of spiritual work. He greatly beautified the manse, and brought the experience of farming he had acquired from his father to bear in improving the glebe. A new church was also built under his direction beside the Powburn. Altogether it was a beautiful specimen of earnest work carried on among a responsive people.

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But the sifting time came. He left his home for the '43 Assembly, foreboding the worst. There were no telegrams in those days, and he arranged with his wife to write at the earliest possible opportunity after the crisis and let her know the result. That there might not be even an instant's delay they agreed on words-"It is finished "-that he was to write on the outside of the letter. But, indeed, she had already made up her mind as to what would have to be done, and no sooner was his back turned than she set about her preparations for leaving the manse. He had grace given to be loyal to his conscience and what he deemed the call of the Lord, and so he marched with the protesting majority to the hall at Canonmills, signing away in that heroic hour his earthly all-a beautiful church hallowed by converse with God and the communion of saints, a manse endeared by many tender associations, the social status of parish minister, and a yearly stipend of \pounds_{400} . It all went, but better remained. He was God's free man, with the light of life beaming on a conscience void of offence. He went to live in a little cottage in the mining village of Prestwick. The grimy surroundings of his new abode furnished a striking contrast to the beauty of the manse garden in the rosy month of June. His case was that of hundreds. But they did not whine nor cry over their lot. They took the change lightly, as heroes do; and we need not pity them. Most of his people adhered to him, or rather to the principles for which he had sacrificed so much, and they retired for worship to a stackvard at the back of the farm of West Orangefield, where, for many months in that memorable summer, they heard the word with gladness.*

^{*} Annals of the Disruption, 109.

His thoughts were turned to New Zealand soon after the Disruption, and when the Otago Scheme was originated he was appointed the first minister of the new Settlement. On all hands he was regarded as eminently fitted for the honourable and responsible position. He resigned his charge as Free Church minister of Monkton with the intention of proceeding to Otago, but owing to the unexpected delays, of which mention has already been made, he felt it to be his duty, after a time, to accept a call to minister to the Free Church congregation at Portobello. In the interval, however, and at every available opportunity, he visited various parts of the country, doing his utmost to set, by public lecture and private talk, the advantages of the Lay Association scheme before all classes of the country. The ultimate success of the scheme was, under God, very much owing to his unflagging zeal along with the ever ready help of Capt. Cargill and John McGlashan.

He was 52 years of age, with the disciplined powers of a ripe manhood, when he landed in Otago. He served the land of his adoption with a tireless devotion and a singleness of purpose that secured for him the love and reverence of all his fellow Colonists. His counsel was greatly valued. It was often sought by Government officials as well as by private settlers, and it was always readily given. His public ministrations were of a high order. As a preacher he was calm and dignified. His sermons were carefully composed and somewhat closely read. At rare intervals, when deeply stirred, he would raise himself from the paper, his eyes flashing, his face glowing with inner light, his voice quivering with emotion, and his apt words winged with a forceful eloquence. At such times his hearers were reminded of his kinship with the poet. He was scholarly in his intellectual tastes, courteous and considerate in his social intercourse, and unbending in his moral rectitude. He was deeply conscious of his own sinfulness and weakness, and all the more on that account cherished as precious beyond telling the atonement and Lordship of Jesus Christ. He was careful not to give offence, and was gracious and forgiving in his dealings with those who had offended him. He must often have repeated his uncle's words, for in cases of discipline his whole manner embodied their spirit—

> Who made the heart, 'tis He alone Decidedly can try us;
> He knows each chord—its varions tone, Each spring—its various bias:
> Then, at the balance, let's be mute, We never can adjust it;
> What's done we partly may compute But know not what's resisted.

His last sermon was preached from a text, Numbers xxxii., 23, that was characteristic of his own ways and of the public teaching of a life-time. The tribes that are there addressed had found on the hither side of Jordan a place of rest for their families and rich pasture-lands for their numerous flocks and herds; but it would have been cowardly and sinful, and in the long run disastrous, on their part to settle down in self-indulgent ease and leave their brethren to clear the land, on the other side, of its warlike inhabitants, and make homes for themselves there. So he always insisted that those who had, in the good providence of God, been successful here and become possessors of property, with homes where peace and plenty prevail, should not grow selfish and ease-loving, but rather make their wealth an opportunity for serving

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the whole community, and leading the van of an aggressive Christianity till the good land is freed from every curse. Some have followed his teaching and example; some have forgotten both.

In 1861 the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by his *alma mater*. When the Otago University was established in 1869, he was made its first Chancellor. The bulk of his fellow-colonists believed that he was a true man on a right track, labouring unselfishly for the common weal; and when he died in 1871 there was genuine sorrow throughout the land.

The First Church has been served by a succession of able men, but it has never, perhaps, reached a higher level in all its departments of work, or given such proof of its vitality and usefulness, as under the able and vigorous ministry of its present pastor—the Rev. James Gibb.

Charges at present in southern part of Dr Burn's original town district, with Date of Settlement, Names of Ministers, Staff of Elders and Deacons (or Managers), and Number of Members :—

- FIRST CHURCH ; 1848 :- Dr. Burns, Sutherland, Lindsay Mackie, Gualter, Gibb. 20 E.; 18 D.; 731 M.
- ST. ANDREWS; 1862:-Glasgow, Meiklejohn, Scrymgeour, Gow, Dr. Waddell.-10 E.; 12 D.; 320 M.
- ANDERSON'S BAY; 1863:-McNaughton, Stuart Ross, Cameron, 9 E.; 12 D.; 170 M.
- CAVERSHAM; 1875-Russel, Fraser, Fraser-Hurst, Dutton-9 E.; 7 D.; 226 M.
- South Dunedin ; 1880 :- Boyd, Campbell, Jolly.-5 E. ; 9 D. ; 171 M.
- MORNINGION; 1881 :- Michie, Porter.-12 E.; 12 D.; 347 M.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST SERVICES.

In his address as Moderator at the opening of the first Synod of the Church in 1866, Dr. Burns said : "Our first party of settlers arrived on a Saturday forenoon; on Sunday, at twelve noon, the people assembled in Dunedin for public worship under their own minister, and from that Sunday down to the present time, not a single Sabbath has passed without the same divine ordinance being faithfully and reverentially observed." This statement is, of course, quite true, but its extreme brevity and consequent vagueness is apt to mislead. A wooden building, of utmost plainness, had been erected in Dunedin for the temporary accommodation of the passengers by the John Wickliffe. There was no place leady as yet for the housing of those who came by the Philip Laing. The bulk of them, especially the women and children, had to remain on board for several weeks. Mr Burns, however, and his eldest daughter went up to Dunedin by boat on Saturday evening, accompanied by Mrs. Cargill and her youngest daughter. His first service on the morrow was held in the wooden barracks occupied by the Wickliffe passengers. The building stood close to the beach. It was afterwards used to form part of the primitive gaol, which amply provided for the almost microscopic criminality of the early days of the Settlement. The text of that first sermon preached amid such novel surroundings seems very striking and memorable in its appropriatness. It was

the 4th verse of the CXXX. Psalm: "But there is forgiveness with Thee, that Thou mayest be feared." The worshippers had broken away from home and kindred, severed themselves from all the associations of their fatherland. They were making a fresh start in a new country. The old life, with its sins and failures, lay behind them, like the blurred and blotted pages of a first copy. Was it not a veritable gospel to be assured that the sinful past might be forgiven, every trace of its guilty hours thoroughly erased, and a clean page provided for setting down a better record. Old offences were not blotted out, however, in order that there might be clear space for running up the same score again, in the vague hope that it, too, might be struck out ere the final reckoning came. Forgiveness came only from the Divine heart of holy love, in the line of righteous law through the atoning death of a sinless Redeemer; and no one looking into the face of God, and receiving pardon freely at His hands, could lightly go back to his old ways, or regard life as other than a sacred trust to be used for higher purposes, and carefully guarded from the defilement and hurt of sin. The Rev. Mr. Creed, a Weslevan missionary, whose headquarters were at Waikouaiti, was present. He preached in the evening. "An excellent and devoted man," wrote Mr. Burns of him; "I hope we shall be able to strengthen each other's hands."

On Monday he went over the town, and examined the sections that had been laid off, with a view to make the best possible selection on an early day. He was back again at Port Chalmers by the middle of the week, looking at the town lands there. On the Sunday following he conducted morning and

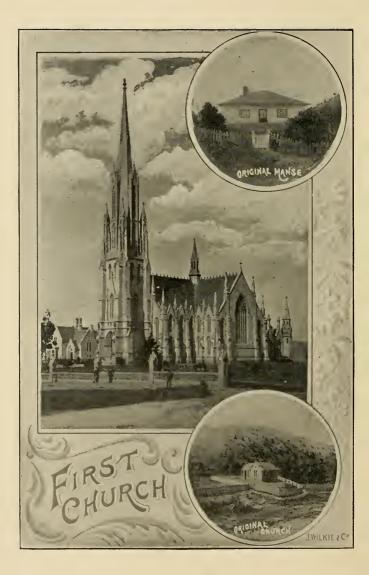
evening service, as usual, on board the Philip Laing. Mr. Nicolson preached in the middle of the day, and in the afternoon they both went on board the John Wickliffe, where Mr. Burns baptised the son-born but the week before-of his brother minister, who expected to sail by the Wickliffe in a few days for Wellington, on his way to his ultimate destination at Nelson. After this the Survey Office was placed at his disposal for Sunday services. It was a small place, capable of holding about thirty people. It was situated on the triangular piece of ground between Princes street and the beach that sloped down from Jetty street to the little estuary where the Colonial Bank Buildings now stand. There was little need to improvise seats, for there was hardly standing room for the number of worshippers.

A large grass-house had been run up hurriedly for the Philip Laing passengers. It was a low building 6oft. long by 2oft. wide. Posts had been hastily cut in the bush, and carried to a site on the beach near to where the Custom House now stands. They were sunk a short distance into the ground. On the top of the posts plates hewn from tall trees were laid, and there the ends of the rafters rested. Across the upright posts and rafters long wattles or saplings were tied with strips of flax. Then the rough framework was covered with grass and rushes. There was no window, no floor, no partition. All the remaining passengers from the Philip Laing were brought here on the 1st of June. Hither on one occasion also came the minister to hold service. It had been very stormy weather for some time previous; indeed, it hardly ceased raining for several weeks. The Maoris had never in all their



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experience known such a wet season. When the minister entered the dismal place his heart sank within him. He saw his fellow-passengers sitting with wet clothes, in the dim light. Some of the women, with babies in their laps, were crouching on the low beds, that were only kept from the damp ground by a layer of grass and fern. The wind was whistling through the thinlycovered walls; a heavy drop falling here and there raised bubbles on the little pools of water in the low parts of the miry floor; while the plash of the waves close by was distinctly heard. There was hardly one genial element to relieve the utter wretchedness of the scene. Little wonder that some of the women were "greetin'." The minister said afterwards that he had never preached with such weight of sadness on his heart. Even while he was trying to lift their thoughts to the compensations of their lot in the abiding fatherliness of God, and the unchanging riches of His grace, and the prospect of better times, their minds must have been far away, brooding over comfortable homes and cheerful fire-sides, and the sound of church bells, and the smell of homely flowers, and the gathering together of loved ones in the Old Land. And when asked to join in singing one of the familiar Psalms, they must have been in a fitter mood for wailing from their sinking hearts :

> Oh, why left I my hame, Why did I cross the deep ? Oh, why left I the land Where my forefathers sleep ? I sigh for Scotia's shore, And I gaze across the sea, But I canna get a blink O' my ain countree.

However, that was but a passing mood. All accounts agree in ascribing a noble patience and courage and hopefulness to the women, amid the privations and discomforts they had to encounter on the threshold of their new homes.

Little time was lost in getting the church erected. Suitable doors and windows had been brought from Home. It was an oblong weather-boarded building. with the door in the end, and three fair-sized windows with ordinary panes on each side. It was roofed with shingles, and its walls painted white outside. It was capable of holding about 200 people. It stood about thirty or forty yards back from the beach, on a terrace that sloped somewhat abruptly in front to the water's edge, and ran up on the landward side to the steep ascent of Bell Hill. The narrow path that skirted the base of that hill curved close by the church, and was fringed on the other hand by little dark boulders strewn on the beach, among which the rising tide used to fret and gurgle. The sound of the waves breaking on the beach, when a strong nor'-easter blew up the harbour, could easily be heard inside the church in the pauses of worship.

The opening of the church was eagerly looked for. It took place on the 3rd of September, 1848. The seating was not finished at the time of opening, but eager worshippers were content to sit on boards resting on bundles of shingles about a foot high. The text was from Proverbs XVI., 5: "Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord," etc. The whole passage was well fitted to remind the pioneers of a new Colony what qualities were acceptable to the Supreme Judge and Arbiter of all persons and all events; and on what stable basis of godly living a righteous character and an enduring success could alone be built up. Mr. Burns was thankful to be again the occupant of a pulpit. He writes with pardonable pride of the new church: "It is a plain, but neat and tasteful, structure—*like a church*—with its belfry at one end, and a bell, *not its own*,* but of which Mr. Jones, of Waikouaiti, has most kindly allowed the use till we receive that which Mr. Mure Macredie and other kind friends at Home are preparing for us." The church was soon too small for the growing population, and had to be enlarged.

After the opening of the church and the first complete pastoral visitation of his new parish, Mr. Burns set about preparing for the first Communion. It took place about the middle of January (14th), 1849, and was observed in all respects like similar seasons at Home. The church was crowded for the Fast Day services on Thursday. On the following Sunday an outsider could easily have told that a high day had come in the history of the Church. It was a still morning, and the smooth waters of the bay mirrored the sylvan beauty of its girdling slopes. Several boats are seen creeping out from Anderson's Bay. The plash of the cars, as they rise from the water and break its surface into glittering spray, can be distinctly heard. Little bands are seen threading their way in Indian file from the North-East Valley. They have crossed the Water of Leith on a bridge, formed by a tall tree that had grown on the bank and been cut so as to fall across the stream, the narrow path of the round trunk being made safe for the timid wayfarer by a railing of

^{*} Though it afterwards came to be, in two years' time, through the generosity of its owner.

supplejacks. As they come along they are sometimes hidden from view by tall flax, and again they are seen hugging the hill-side to avoid the swampy places, where Maori-heads rise from brown stagnant water. Some are seen approaching from Half-way Bush. They have passed the old cemetery, and are coming down the broad back of the ridge that runs out into the bold promontory, called Bell Hill, whose rocky feet are laved by the waters of the bay. Others come from Green Island and the intermediate places along the range by Look-Out Point, and reach the town by the wooded slopes now crowned by the buildings about Stafford street. They all gather quietly in to the tinkling of the little bell. Their faces, one can see, are browned with exposure, and their clothes bear traces in their wrinkled condition of too much pressure in limited space. The scanty stock of boot laces which some of them brought from Home has evidently run out, for their strong boots are tied with narrow strips of green flax. As yet, only one or two wear the white moleskins and blue shirt of a later era. There is an air of robust health and sturdy independence about most of them. They have got their foot firmly planted on their own property, and one of the ends they had in view in leaving the Old Land is visibly within their reach—

> To rear an independent shed, And give the lips they loved unborrowed bread.

And so, with a self-respecting humility and many a stirring of old memories, they enter the little church, and sit down for the first time in the new land to commemorate the dying love of their Saviour and their Lord. "It was truly a delightful season," wrote Mr. Burns a week or two after. "It brought forcibly to my recollection the Communion Sabbaths in Ayrshire during the summer of 1843, immediately after the Disruption, only I had no brother with me to share the duties. The whole of Sabbath we had the church full to the door, and without there was the most perfect and impressive stillness, scarcely an individual to be seen. We had three table services, the tables holding from thirty to forty; the third table, however, was not more than half-full."

The ordinary Sunday services were highly appreciated, as was evident from the large attendance of people not only from the town but from all the surrounding districts. Those who came a distance were wont to bring lunch with them—" a piece," as it was called. During the short interval of an hour between the forenoon and afternoon services, they retired in family groups to some secluded spot by the side of the clear stream that rippled over its rocky bed in a deep gully, long since obliterated by the filling up of Rattray Street. The sides of the gully were clothed with bush, and furnished quiet resting places during the midday hour for waiting worshippers. The service of praise was made more than ordinarily attractive and stimulating by the fine voice and accurate and forceful singing of the leader. Not only by his own example, but by holding classes for practice, and in other ways begetting a taste for sacred music, he worked up the psalmody of the church to a high state of efficiency. The different parts of the music were taken up and well sustained by the congregation. Mr Burns gratefully acknowledged more than once his indebtedness to Mr James Adam for the ability and tireless zeal with which he conducted this very important part of worship. "One very delightful feature of our Sabbath worship," he wrote to the Convener of the Colonial Committee, "is the correct and excellent style, and the full-toned, hearty voice with which the praises of God are sung. In this we are greatly indebted to our Precentor, formerly of the Free West Church, Aberdeen."

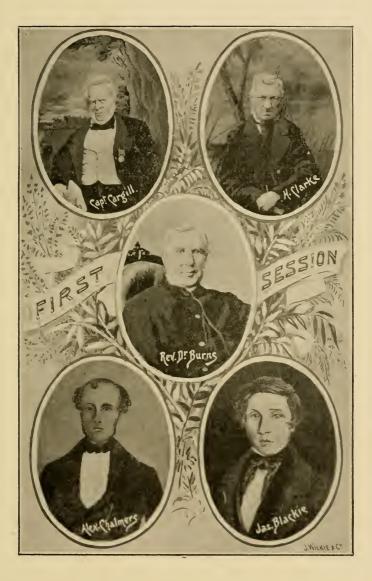
The minister walked to Port Chalmers during the first summer, and preached there every fourth Sabbath. The road was somewhat difficult, being a mere track winding about over the bush-covered hills between the two places. It comes like a rebuke to our more easeloving times to find the minister saying that, if a road were made along the margin of the bay, it would be easy for people living at Port Chalmers to walk up to church at Dunedin. He looked forward to the time when a flat-bottomed steamer would mayhap be plying in the harbour under Christian management; and, without violating the sanctity of the Lord's Day, would call in at the little bays, and carry the entire population, living round the shores of the harbour, to church and back again at a moderate charge! A Sunday School was started by Mr. Blackie and Mr. Henry Clark. Tract distribution was systematically carried on. The library, which had been provided by generous donors in Scotland, became a centre of good influence, radiating what of sweetness and light it possessed, not only to residents in the town, but to the huts of sawyers in lonely gullies, and the whates of settlers who snatched a brief hour for reading after a day's toilsome grubbing on their suburban sections. And all the time the minister was keenly alive to the need of spiritual power to counteract the secularising tendencies that were at work in the community. "How greatly," he wrote to a friend at

Home; "How greatly do we need your prayers. How easily may such a small body of isolated Christians—a small branch lopped off from the parent stem—how easily may we all fall away, and go all wrong, unless *God keep us* ! We press upon you the Apostle's request : 'Brethren, pray for us !' "

CHAPTER X.

FIRST PRESBYTERS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

ON Sabbath, the 25th March, 1849, Mr. Burns requested the congregation to send in sealed lists to him containing the names of four of their number whom they deemed best qualified for the office of eldership. This was accordingly done, and at a numerously-attended meeting of the congregation held about a month afterwards, the lists were opened and the votes marked. It was found that the following persons had received the largest number of votes :--- " 1st, Mr. Henry Clark, carpenter, and formerly an elder of the Dean Church, Edinburgh, in connection with the Free Church of Scotland; 2nd, Mr. James Blackie, schoolmaster; 3rd, Captain Wm. Cargill, resident agent of the New Zealand Company; and, 4th, Mr. Alexander Chalmers, proprietor, Half-way Bush." Such is the order of the names, and the manner in which they are designated, in the first minute of the Session records of the First Church. After the ordinary process of serving an edict and fixing time and place for hearing objections, the admission of Mr. Clark and the ordination of the others were proceeded with at the usual service on the 13th May, 1849. The minister preached from Hebrews XIII., 17: "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit to them, for they watch in behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account, that they may do this with joy, and not with grief, for this were unprofitable for you." After putting the prescribed questions and receiving satisfactory answers, the minister



by solemn prayer to Almighty God set apart the men of the people's choice to the office of elder or presbyter in the Church of Christ. $\ .$

Mr. Clark is the only survivor of the little band. He came to Otago in the ship Blundell. He was one of the most trusted advisers of his minister in the early days, and threw himself heartily into every Christian enterprise. He is a man of fine spiritual insight and capacity. Though his voice is seldom heard, his counsel is highly valued. He is, after all these years of change, a kind of Nestor to a new generation. The available materials for forming a sound judgment on any question before his Session are not regarded as complete until he has spoken. The flame of his youthful devotion may have in a measure spent itself, but there remains a glow of piety befitting the evening hours of a toilsome day. He has been a presbyter of the best type; wisely conservative of his Church's inner life and polity, yet ever ready to adjust its out-works to the changing forces of society.

Mr. Blackie had, while in Portobello, approved himself to be not only a competent teacher, but a devoted Christian worker. The friction of life on the crowded deck of the Philip Laing had only burnished his good qualities to a finer lustre. A very significant event occurred soon after the arrival of the vessel at Port Chalmers: A boy about nine years of age fell overboard. In an instant Blackie got hold of a rope, jumped into the water, and clutched the boy as he was drifting astern with the ebbing tide. Willing hands were ready to draw in the rope, and safely lift the two on deck—the boy none the worse for the ducking, and the teacher, by his noble act, more endeared to the hearts alike of parents and children. He worked manfully for Church and school during the first two years, and at last was forced to resign on account of failing health. He was in the relentless grip of consumption, and was advised to try a warmer climate. He left Dunedin in October, 1850, and proceeded to Sydney. He must have made a deep impression on the first settlers, for a tender look still comes into the eyes of the few survivors as they tell, with a ring of genuine feeling in their voice, that Mr. Blackie was a *fine* man.

Of Captain Cargill, little more need be said. It was surely noteworthy to see a man whose ancestor had fought so valiantly for civil and religious liberty and died a brave martyr's death on the gallows-tree in Edinburgh—a man who had served with distinction under the "Iron Duke" during the Peninsular War, and been wounded while fighting his country's battles on the ridges of Busaco—moving about quietly in that little church with bowed head and solemn air, bearing to his fellow-Christians the symbols of a Saviour's broken body and shed blood. The sight, it may well be imagined, stirred the pulses of the young, and moved them to gird themselves with humility and resolve to be loyal to Christ and valiant for truth and righteousness in the land of the Southern Cross.

Mr. Chalmers had been a successful business man in Glasgow. His sterling qualities and interest in Christian work had earned for him a good degree as deacon in the Church to which he belonged. Dr. Willis (his minister) was well known as an able theologian. He received, about the year 1847, an appointment as Principal and Professor to a Theological College in Toronto. Being warmly attached to Mr. Chalmers, he was very urgent in pressing the claims of Canada as a field for emigration upon him. Its long and severe winters seemed to Mr. Chalmers a kind of menace to the somewhat delicate health of at least one member of his family. He had therefore, however reluctantly, to decline in this respect the counsel of a minister whose spiritual guidance he highly valued and earnestly strove to follow. He turned his face to Otago, and took passage in the Philip Laing. As he brought a considerable stock of varied merchandise with him, he had frequent dealings with the early settlers. The fact that he was unanimously elected to the office of the eldership is sufficient evidence of the high esteem in which he was held. He resigned his office after a short term, but continued to take an interest in the affairs of the Church. Its welfare lay close to his heart until he died in the early sixties.

In November, 1850, news came that the New Zealand Company had surrendered its charter to the Imperial Government, and would therefore retire from its position as a party to the "Terms of Purchase" agreed upon with the Lay Association, and cease to carry on its colonising functions. This, along with other considerations, such as the increase of population in the town, the widening area of settlement in the rural districts, and the utter impossibility of exercising effective supervision over so many scattered members with such a small staff of elders, led to a meeting of Session, at which it was agreed to add several new members to the eldership. In view of the altered financial outlook, it was also resolved to give the people an opportunity of electing an equal number of deacons. In furtherance of this resolution, all the necessary steps

were taken, and on the 26th of January, 1851, the ordination and admission of the newly-elected officebearers took place. The text selected on this occasion was Ezekiel xxxiv., 16: "I will seek that which was lost, and will bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick; and the fat and the strong I will destroy : I will feed them in judgment." The unwearying love and safe guidance of the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of Souls; His tender solicitude for the erring and the weak, and His holy severity in dealing with the proud and obstinate, were thus set forth as an example to the presbyters in their dealings with the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them bishops (Acts xx., 17, 28, R.V.).

A Committee consisting of the elders and deacons belonging to the town was appointed to devise the best method of working that district. In a short time the Committee suggested that the town should be subdivided into six districts, and in order to overtake the work thoroughly, that a further addition of two members should be made to the staff of deacons. It was also suggested that an elder should be appointed to the vacancy in the Half-way Bush district, caused by the resignation of Mr Chalmers. All this was agreed to and carried into effect. So that at the close of the series of ordinations on the 16th March, 1851, the completed roll of Session and Deacons' Court, with the districts assigned to the members, stood as follows:—

DISTRICT.			ELDER.		DEACON.
Town	••		Henry Clark		Alexander Garvie
Town	••	•••	William Cargill	• •	Edward McGlashan
Town			Charles Robertso	n	William Stevenson
Town	••		James Brown	••	William Young

FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

DISTRICT.	ELDER.	DEACON.
Town	Thomas Bain	John Mills
Town		James Ritchie
NORTH-EAST VALLEY	William Smith	William Chapman
HALF-WAY BUSH	George Hepburn	James Marshall
ANDERSON'S BAY	George Brown	James Elder Brown
Green Island, Forbury, &c.	Thomas Ferguson	John Anderson

TAIERI, WAIHOLA,

Токоманию Francis McDiarmid William Jaffray

The good sense and Christian principle which characterised the people were abundantly manifest throughout the whole of this forward movement. "The elections," wrote Mr Burns to the Convener of the Colonial Committee, "were gone about with the most perfect harmony; not one jarring word of jealous sentiment or invidious fault-finding was heard." Colonel Wakefield, who was visiting Dunedin about the same time, was struck with the admirable manner in which a democratic body like the Presbyterian Church could manage a popular election; and thought it furnished, in its exercise of freedom within the bounds of ecclesiastical order, a fine object lesson for politicians.

On its material side the Church was assuming greater visibility. A large addition had been made to the building, for covering the expense of which a sum of \pounds_{120} was raised without much effort by subscription. This was really more than it seems to be, for, as Mr Burns wrote at the time, "hard cash in an infant Colony is so scarce an article, and so much has to be done with it, that very little money can be counted on for years to come." On the spiritual side the Church was also prosperous. The June Communion of 1851, fixed on the third Sabbath of that month "that those in the country districts might have advantage of moonlight to go home by," was regarded as the most solemn and impressive of all that had gone before. Though in the dead of winter, the roads unmetalled and very muddy, and many of the people having far to go, upwards of 200 engaged in the holy ordinance out of a possible 360 on the roll. Four Sunday Schools were in operation; and here and there throughout the country districts, as well as in the town, there were weekly meetings for prayer private, unostentatious, conducted mostly by the elders.

These first office-bearers were but the vanguard of a noble army who have since been called into the ranks of office, and have served the Church of their fathers with a praiseworthy fidelity. It seems invidious to mention names. Every minister knows of elders in his own district who have laboured untiringly for well nigh a life-time in almost every department of the Church's work. They have held up the minister's hands in the prayer-meeting. They have given the young the benefit of their knowledge of Scripture and their experience of life in the Sunday School and the Bible Class. Their feet have been beautiful upon the mountains as they carried good tidings to outlying districts. They have cheered the sick room by their kindly sympathy. They have tempered the severity of discipline with a yearning compassion. They have been ready to share in the wider counsels of the Church by attending the meetings of Presbytery and Synod. They have gone in and out among the people, reproducing in some measure the features of the primitive bishop or presbyter, as sketched in the pastoral epistles : "not greedy of filthy lucre, given to hospitality, a lover of good, sober-minded, just, holy, temperate." The Church has reason to rejoice before God in the high character and splendid loyalty of her eldership. There may be a few instances in which they

have proved recreant to their high trust; and amid increasing prosperity and an affectation of culture and fine-breeding, have forgotten their lowly origin, grown to be ashamed of the simple forms of Presbyterianism, and betaken themselves to a more ornate and fashionable style of worship. There are always a few people so dandified in their religious tastes that, like James Stuart, they do not regard Presbyterianism as a suitable religion for a gentleman. There are even yet people to be met with who see only through the haze of prejudice, and think like Charles Lamb, although they hardly venture to speak as he does. Poor Elia, in his laudatory reference to Joseph Paice, a merchant, who greatly befriended him in his youth, is pleased to say of him: "Though bred a Presbyterian, and brought up a merchant, he was the finest gentleman of his time."* Presbyterian and merchant, forsooth ! as if there was any essential element in either condition to hinder a man from bearing-

> Without abuse The grand old name of gentleman, Defamed by every charlatan, And soiled by all ignoble use.

It is loathsome to think of the elevations some people aspire to. They will perch on a heap of reeking compost made up of prejudice and vanity, with the irridescent scum of the brown wash of conceit all about them, if only they may seem in their own eyes to be a little higher than their neighbours. Such winged ambitions are altogether alien to genuine Presbyterianism. It has always been willing to tread the solid earth with hobnailed boots, if need be, and do rough work with honest hands, if thereby it might serve its generation in producing true manhood and furthering the Kingdom of God on the earth.

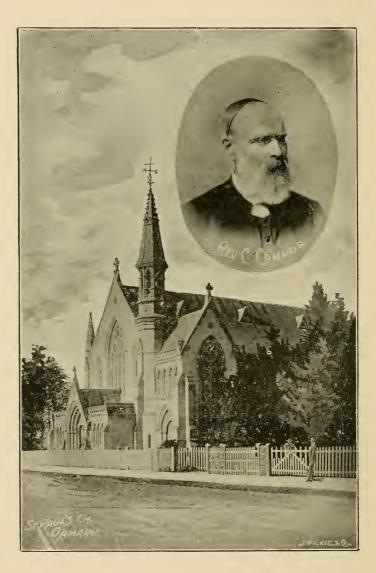
^{*&}quot; Essays of Elia "-Modern Gallantry.

CHAPTER XI.

STOUT HEARTS TO STEY BRAES.

ALL the people had at least two suits of clothing when they landed. Some of them had not much else of separable belongings, but they had stout hearts and willing hands. They had at the very outset to face a problem that since the expulsion from Eden has been a very pressing one, viz., how to earn their daily bread. The New Zealand Company, represented by its agent Captain Cargill, was the largest employer of labour for a time. He virtually fixed the rate of wages and determined the hours of labour. The wages were fixed at 3s. a day for labourers and 5s. for tradesmen. In fixing this rate care had to be taken not to discourage the use of private capital, and, at the same time, provide fairly remunerative work for all. After the initial pressure of erecting storehouses and temporary barracks was over, all kinds of work that were less urgent were let by contract. The eight hours' system, which so many of the later arrivals regarded as one of the greatest boons of colonial life, was yet to come. The workingday was fixed at ten hours—from 6 to 9, from 10 to 2, and from 3 to 6. On Saturday, however, at noon, a gun was fired as a signal that work was to cease for the rest of the day. It served the much-needed purpose also of a weekly standard for regulating erratic clocks and watches. In later years the Church-hill was a kind of minaret from which the bell that was hung there measured the eight hours of the working-day, and sounded forth the call to labour and to rest.





The people were told that there was a three-months' store of provisions on hand, to be replenished by the Company, and sold at cost price until the heart of commerce began to beat and supply the wants of the people through the ordinary arteries of trade. But, indeed, no one needed to be afraid of famine. To grow potatoes, you had but "to put the seed in the ground, fur up a little earth on the top of them, and no more labour is required till you dig for them, when you shall find a crop the like of which you never saw in Scotland !" Then as for "kitchen," there are plenty of wild pigs. "We go and kill one before the other is done." There are birds, also, of almost every description—"pigeons, same as at Home, but larger; parrots in great variety, splendid eating; I ate one to day; wild ducks, called 'paradise ducks,' nearly as large as a goose, splendid eating; quails in great abundance, delicious eating." You need no elaborate appliances for cooking either. A damper can be made as easily as porridge! Take flour and water, mix together till it becomes a paste, then throw it into the ashes, and it bakes well. When it is eaten with "wild duck or pigeon, which I have been always able to get close at hand, I had rather have it than any bread I ever tasted." Doubtless ! especially with hunger, which is most excellent sauce.

There had been continuous rains for some time after the first settlers arrived. It was well for them that they had clothing some stages in advance of the fig-leaf era, for, said Captain Cargill somewhat dolefully, in the midst of that soaking rain, with dense clouds above and liquid mud below, "there is nothing but grass and green poles for creating shelter." By-and-bye the sun came out, and the human beavers shook away all melancholy and began to build. Houses had to be run up hurriedly. They were built of all kinds of material, from coarse clay to feathery grass and fern. They were to be found in all sorts of places, sprawling about among the flax, hiding away in dense bush, hanging on to steep hill-sides. Not a few of them were mere instalments of houses, groping after plans that no doubt existed in the minds of the builders, but had not yet become evident to onlookers. Their appearance, apart from any special notice, clearly showed that, like the chapters of a serial story, they were to be continued. One writes : "Our house is a gueer one; there are no windows in it; the wind whistles through it." Another says : "Our house is built of mud walls, with a coating of bark for roof, and the grass on the top tied with flax." One with a happy gift of comparison says: "Our house is very small, only two apartments, but we feel comfortable when compared with our small berths in the ship." After giving us a view of the outside of his house, one man is good enough to show us the inside. We shall, if you please, take our hats off. "The chimney is built of clay; it sometimes smokes, as you will perceive; the floor is clay, and we had neither stool, chair, nor table, until I got this made. Grand furniture is never thought of here. The back-bones of the whale are very common for seats." Timber came to be in great demand, and the bush solitudes that were wont to echo with the bell-like notes of the tui and the moki became resonant with the stroke of axes, the crash of falling trees, and the grating noise of saw-pits.

It was no rare thing for people to get lost in the bush and to be out all night. "Would you not say," asks one writer,* "of a man who sleeps in the open air

^{*}All these extracts are from letters in the Otago Journal, 1849-50.

all night, and that in winter, 'Poor wretch!' Well, many a one does it here, and with impunity, too!" Aye, that's the rub! with impunity! if you do not look too far ahead or do it too often.

"Man, if we had lived in sich places at Hame, wi' the wind whustlin' through the gress wa's, and the rain drappin' on the clay floor through the thack on the roof, we wud hae been a'maist deid afore now with rheumaticks, or gaun aboot twa-fauld hackin' and spittin' a' day wi' a sair cauld. But see how stracht I am, and jist look at that airm ! An' I can eat twice as muckle as I did at Hame; and for wark there's nae tirin' o' me. The wife says, "It beats a'!"

Some, no doubt, came to the Colony expecting too much, and were disappointed, but the bulk of the people came with a mind to work, and they found little space for idleness or grumbling. A number started at once to cultivate their suburban sections. When these were covered with bush, the process of clearing was somewhat laborious. The trees were cut a few feet above the ground, and the stumps left to rot in the soil. The trunks were split up into firewood, or, when suitable, into posts and rails, the light wood being either burnt or piled up to form a rude boundary fence. The ground was turned over and made ready for the planting of potatoes or the sowing of grain with a grub hoe. An able-bodied man could grub an acre in about a fortnight. The toil of grubbing among a net-work of tough roots sometimes strained the muscles and tried the temper, but it invariably whetted the appetite, and transformed very homely diet into princely fare. Some of the old settlers have feasted from lordly dishes at sumptuous tables since then, but potatoes have never been so mealy,

nor tea so delicious, nor mutton so sweet as when they entered, with bent head, through the low door of their clay whare, and sat down to their evening meal beside a large box that still protested in great letters that it was "NOT WANTED ON THE VOYAGE." They were innocent, then, of mortgages, and debit balances and arrears of commission, and the other evils that devour the fruits of modern husbandry.

One serious drawback to the Arcadian happiness was the state of the roads in winter time. A man of ordinary agility, who had nothing but his limbs to care for, might evade the mud by balancing himself on the tussocks at the road-side, or, in the case of a bush track, by swinging himself from tree to tree. He might manage to cross a swamp, even, by leaping from one Maori-head to another, but if he had to go to the store after dark and carry back fifty or a hundred pounds of flour, it became a serious matter. There used to be a well on Mr Wilkie's section, not far from where the Criterion Hotel now stands. It provided an ample supply of good water for the neighbourhood. It is an historic fact, adequately attested, that a maid-servant, when crossing Princes Street near to where it is intersected by Moray Place, carrying two pails of water from the well, sank in the mud and actually stuck fast. There were very few passing by, and it was some time before her cries brought her needed assistance. It required much circumspection in wet weather to get along George Street. It was wont to be little else than a swamp. An old identity has waded to the knees there in search of cows hidden among the tall flax and toi-tois.

As may be supposed, the only form of locomotion at first was on foot. Hardly anything else was possible. Princes Street was distinguished by a survey line on each side and stumps of trees here and there. After a time a sledge drawn by a pair of bullocks became a not infrequent sight. A cart had been brought by one of the Philip Laing passengers, but it remained dead stock for about three years. It could neither be used nor sold. At last mine host of the "Royal" made an offer for the cart, and got it at his own price. He had a somewhat drouthy customer in the North-East Valley, who was the possessor of a strong bullock, accustomed to harness, called Bob. Ere long he became the owner of the bullock as well as the cart. A day was fixed for inaugurating wheeled traffic on Princes Street. It was a great event. People came from all parts of the town, and many were the speculations as to the capabilities of the bullock. He started with utmost ease, as to the manner born. But Bell Hill, that steep, slippery ascent, in the line of the street; he would never go up there ! Half-a-dozen men followed the cart, ready to put their shoulders to the wheel; but their help was unneeded. The slow-footed animal moved patiently up. A ringing cheer greeted him when he got to the top of the hill and began to descend its northern slope. He had managed to take the empty dray over. And now the question was, would he be able or willing to bring a load back again. People were restless ; speculation was rife ; the suspense became great as the slow hours passed by. At length all doubt was allayed, when the bullock came into view over the crest of the hill, about 5 o'clock in the evening, with half-a-cord of firewood brought all the way from the Valley. By the time the hotel was reached a large crowd had gathered, and there was great rejoicing over the beginning of wheeled traffic in Dunedin; and Bob's achievement became historic.

People were very neighbourly and hospitable in the early days. The modern swagger or sun-downer had not been developed. All travellers were supposed to be respectable. They were, for the most part, intending settlers looking out for land. And so, when they came to one of the widely-scattered homesteads in an outlying district, they were treated as welcome guests. Curious mishaps sometimes occurred. A highly-respected settler in the Molyneux had given shelter for the night to two travellers. In the morning he was informed that there was no bread for breakfast and no flour for baking. He had his own work to attend to, milking cows and what not. He had, therefore, however reluctantly, to tell his guests that they would have to take a turn at the handmill, and grind the wheat before they could get their breakfast. They relished their meal all the more from the novel experience. The "old bachelor" of Green Island, whose many accomplishments furnished a theme for Mr Blair's muse, did something better-

He grew his own wheat, and in autumn time He had a steel mill his wheat to grin'; He could make it either coarse or fine, And as the wheel went, you could hear him chime.

One day a friend called—he had nought to eat— He kindly told him to take a seat ;

He out with his sickle and cut the wheat,

He ground it, and baked it, and cooked it complete.

CHAPTER XII.

DAFFIN

Most men kept their shoulders well to the yoke, but they had interludes of daffin'. "True," wrote one who still survives and enjoys the fruit of his toil, "True we have rough labour, but we can afford a day for recreation, too, and where can there be finer sport than a pig-hunt? You will perhaps say, 'O, a pig is a filthy animal to run after !' By no means. The flesh of a wild pig is as different from the pigs you have at Auld Reekie as a sheep is from a horse. There are also thousands of paradise ducks which amply repay the sportsman either in pleasure or profit, together with pigeons, quails, &c .- and no game laws." No game laws; only the game had laws and rights of their own, which they were not backward sometimes in enforcing, as the old shepherd found out when he was all unwittingly brought up face to face with a wild boar in a swamp at the foot of Saddle Hill. The fierce brute gave chase, and he had to run for his life. It was an old marauder, had lost an ear, and was "nearly as large as a good-sized donkey."

One assures his correspondent that there is nothing to be afraid of, except the *toot* berries. That these were a real danger there can be no doubt. One of the settlers learned this to his cost. He had been working hard for Mr. Valpy at harvesting, and had gone out after tea, and thrown himself down under the shade of a tutu bush. The berries hung temptingly above him, and he plucked and ate. He felt no bad effects all night. When he got up in the morning and went out he must have become unconscious, for he was found lying in a helpless condition at the foot of a steep bank. His friends carried him to his bed, and sent for the doctor. When he recovered consciousness, he found himself lying in a very weak state, with his hair wet and his pillow soaked with blood; bleeding at the temples being regarded as one of the best remedies in such a case.

When men were tired of work and play there was a more harmless pastime than eating toot berries; that was to read the local newspaper. This is an inseparable adjunct of every British community. And so by the end of the first year of the Settlement the Otago News was published. It had for its motto the very hopeful one, "There's pippins and cheese to come." It was printed at first on crown size paper, in three columns, and was easily handled. It was at first issued once a fortnight. It had all the vigour of youth, kept its head well elate, as if conscious of its own high mission, marched with a swagger to the ringing watchword of "the power of the Press," and was candid to a fault. Some spoke of it scornfully, with quite a superior air, as "a mere rag"; others spoke in a curiously patronising tone, like the daft lad who, with calves and their upbringing in his mind, asked pityingly about the newly-arrived baby, "Puir thing, wull ye bring it up ?" A few thought it a marvel in the circumstances, for its proprietor was Editor and printer and publisher as well. It somehow got out of touch with the bulk of its readers, but struggled bravely for existence. It became a week, with four pages and four columns on each page, after the first year, and gave up at last in December, 1850. Many self-constituted

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coroners held inquests over its death. Amid the conflict of verdicts one can easily be made out. It was something like this :—"Ah weel, it's a pity, but, ye see, we maun creep afore we gang." It made way for the longerlived *Witness*.

Sometimes the amenities of civilised life had to be dispensed with. A respected survivor of the earliest band, with one or two others from Dunedin, went on the first New Year's Day to visit a friend who had taken up his abode on a section below Port Chalmers. It was a long walk, and their disappointment was great when they found that their friend was away and the door of his hut locked. They had fullest confidence that if they could only find entrance without breaking door or window, no one would rejoice more on his return than the absent friend. The hut was low, the chimney ditto. It was built of clay, with sloping sides, and had a wide enough outlet for the smoke of an infant volcano. The Philip Laing passengers were men of grace as well as grit, and resolute in the strength of his own pure motive, and fearless in the tried friendship of the owner of the hut, Mr. Martin climbed the side of the chimney, balanced himself for an instant on the top to make sure of a clean descent, and then dropped into the spacious fireplace without even brushing the soot from its sides. He at once unlocked the door, admitted his companions, kindled a fire, boiled the billy which had seen service on board ship as a boulli tin, and was just in the act of rummaging about on littered shelves for tea and sugar when the absent friend returned. None enjoyed the scene more than he. They all knew the joy of timely fun as well as Horace when he wrote dulce est desipere in loco; only they used the word " daffin " instead of " desipere " to describe it all.

Bishop Selwyn paid a brief visit to the Settlement soon after it was founded. All were delighted with his fine courtesy and readiness to appreciate goodness though not in Anglican attire. There was some trepidation about his up-putting. Mr. Cutten exerted himself to provide all that was essential to his comfort. He borrowed pillows and blankets from Mrs. Burns. She gladly supplied him with the best she had. There could, of course, be no irritating quality about Presbyterian blankets to offend the dignity of his lordship, and she hoped he would sleep soundly under them. The Bishop afterwards learnt where part of his bedding had come from and the kindly hope that had been expressed by their owner. He sent back a gracious message thanking Mrs. Burns, and assuring her that the Bishop had never slept better than amid the genial softness and warmth of Presbyterian blankets. It was not an incorporating union, but it was a sort of evangelical alliance that left kindly recollections on all sides. A deputation of some of his own people waited upon him, with a view of getting a clergyman of their own Church settled amongst them. He listened to their statements. Then he asked quietly if they were in the habit of going to hear Mr. Burns. They did go there occasionally. "Ah, well! he replied, you are not badly off." What a pity, it seems to us, that he went back from the wholesome freedom and Christian charity of his Colonial days! What a pity his Biography has been written in such a narrow spirit, and that a life which, in its early and best stages, belonged to Christendom has been shrouded in the nimbus of a sect!

When visiting, there was no attempt to be fashionable. Indeed, there was no standard of fashion to judge by. Two ladies who had lived through that old identity time met recently after a long separation. They almost fell into each other's embrace, and the first articulate exclamation heard by the onlookers was this :--" Oh for the time when we used to throw a shawl over our mutch, and run into each other's houses for an afternoon's crack !" Amongst the men no attempt was made to outdo the blue shirt. It came to pass, however, that for the first time in the Taieri a special function was arranged and invitations sent out. Some of the farmers had blue shirts, opening in front, and lined with silk. These were presentable anywhere. One man had recently come from Home, and had as part of his outfit a dress suit. He was in a dilemna. Was he to do violence to all his Home-bred sense of propriety and traditional fitness of things, and go in a blue shirt? Or was he to run the risk of being stared at as an oddity, and go in his swallow-tailed coat? He was equal to the occasion. He put on his dress suit ; and over it he donned the blue shirt. If all were in blue shirts, he would be like the rest; if any wore evening dress, he could slip off the shirt, and then he, too, would be "one of the élite."

There was no regular postal service in the earliest days. Letters came by any chance vessel. Mr. Anderson's store was regarded as the most convenient place for a temporary post office, and at the urgent request of Capt. Cargill, he took care of the letters free of charge. Some people, however, were more intent on their own interests than considerate of his time. They worked till darkness closed around them on their suburban sections, and then with a lighted candle stuck in the neck of an inverted bottle with its bottom knocked off, they groped their way through flax and tussock and bush, and knocked him up at untimeous hours, asking if there were any letters for them. By-and-bye Mr. James Brown was appointed post-master at a salary of \pounds_{30} a year. To the thinly-scattered settlers in the rural districts letters found their way by any chance traveller. After a time, a native of Australia was engaged as letter-carrier to the southern parts. He was known as Black Andy. Not being able to read, he was virtually a travelling post office. Each settler was his own post-master, and had to find out from Andy's bundle what belonged to himself. Andy was very obliging, especially when he got plenty of "frandy," which was his generic term for every kind of highly-seasoned liquor that stung his throat and made his brain reel.

And so the little world moved on, shaping amid new surroundings a destiny of its own. Freedom was not sober-suited or fettered with clanking precedent as in older lands. It was fresh as the dawn of a New Zealand spring, blithe as the morning carol of native birds, radiant with the hope of a golden year. There was a broad basis of contentment in the fact that all were very much on the same footing. It is when Sir John wears a belltopper and flashes past in a fine carriage, while Jack has to plod along the miry road with patched moleskins, that pride and envy and covetousness and all the brood of class feelings that burrow under the fair show of our modern civilisation are evolved.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW METHODS OF SUPPORTING CHURCH AND SCHOOL.

ONE wonders how a body composed chiefly of Free Church worshippers could have so long regarded a Sabbath service as complete without the ordinary collection. This had become such an invariable practice; the importance of it had been so often insisted on, that it was regarded as an essential part of public worship. As a means of grace, it was supposed, in some cases, to have a very potent efficacy. The imperilled boatman, in default of praise and prayer, instinctively thought of a collection as the next item in his devotional programme most likely to avert the swamping of his little craft by the stormy sea. "Will some o' ye offer up a prayer?" he asked imploringly of his mates. There was no response. "Will some o' ye sing a Psalm or gang ower a Paraphrase, then?" Still no response. "Then," piously taking off his cap, "I maun do something religious; I'll take a collection."

When the New Zealand Company surrendered its charter in 1850, the Imperial Parliament, through its Land and Emigration Commission, undertook to discharge the Company's obligations to the Otago Association and settlers. By the agreement with the Company, it will be remembered the Association was allowed five years from the 23rd November, 1847, for effecting the sale of 2000 properties, or 120,500 acres, to private purchasers. Unfortunately, however, up to the time the Company ceased its functions only about 18,000 acres had been sold. The one-eighth part of this due to the Trust for Church and school was, of course, \pounds_{4500} . From this the stipend of the minister and the salary of the teacher had been paid. A considerable amount had also been invested in a permanent estate, consisting of 22 properties of $60\frac{1}{4}$ acres each-lacre town section, 10 acres suburban, and 50 acres rural section. Under the arrangement with the Imperial authorities, the Trustees would have been in ordinary course credited with the one-eighth of the proceeds of future sales until the five years had expired, but there was a large debt standing which had been incurred by the Company in paying the passages of minister and teacher, in erecting church and school, and otherwise furthering the interests of the Association. This debt amounted to £1700. Its liquidation was rightly enough held to be a first charge on the moneys accruing to the Trust for religious and educational uses. There was little hope, therefore, of any further revenue from the sale of land.

Of course, the Trust had its 22 properties, and it might be supposed that the rents from these would have been sufficient for all religious and educational purposes. But there was little demand for leasehold property, and rents were very low. The total income from the 22 properties for several years was on an average about £30 a year. It will thus be seen that it was absolutely necessary that Church and school should turn their expectant looks and outstretched hands away from that source of income, and resolutely face the duty of being self-supporting. The £120 that had been raised by voluntary subscription to complete the last addition to the church, along with the hearty response

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made to any appeal on behalf of the destitute, revealed somewhat of the latent resources that might be drawn upon. The people had profited by their Home training. The spirit of liberality begotten at the Disruption and the habits of giving afterwards formed, had been allowed to lie dormant for a while. But they were easily quickened into their wonted activity. There was, indeed, little ready money in the community, but each one gave according to his ability, and though the individual contributions were not large, the aggregate amount was by no means contemptible.

There were three channels opened up for the outflow of the people's liberality, viz. :- Church door collections, seat rents, and Sustentation Fund. The last was not very vigorously pressed for a while, in the hope, as stated at the time, that the Trust Fund might be in a condition to supplement the amount received from other sources, so as to provide an adequate stipend for the minister. He held a legal guarantee for f_{300} a year from the Trustees, but he never dreamt of trying in any way to enforce payment. He was willing always to share privations with others, and make the best of altered conditions. It was felt that there need be less scruple in urging the claims of the Sustentation Fund when the Settlement "reached the point of raising within itself sufficient produce for the supply of its own wants." It was expected that this point would be reached by the harvest of 1852.

Intimation having been made the week before, a plate for receiving the offerings of the people was placed at the church door on December 8th, 1850. The collection amounted to \pounds 1 5s. 9½d. That bawbee is suggestive. It may have been put in by some little one who was just

as conscious of his own importance, and as proud of his contribution as the border minister in his knicker days, when he dropped his money into Jamie Ewart's ladle with great formality, saying, "Jamie, that's my halfpenny." It may have been the offering of someone who was hoarding up his earnings against a day of anticipated pleasure, like the boy who had been promised a visit to the circus on Monday evening, and whispered to his father in view of the collecting plate, "I say, papa, don't give too much : keep something for to-morrow, mind." Or yet again, it may have been given by someone like the baker in Glasgow, who handed a boy three shillings to go across the street for a bottle of whisky on Saturday night, saying, "You'll get back a penny o' change, and see that you get it in ha'pennies, as yin o' them will do for the plate the morn."* That ninepence, too, has the look of being made up of threepenny bits. They may have been worn enough, but none of them could possibly have given rise to such lamentable bathos as this :--- A worshipper was singing with great vigour and seeming devotion these lines of Dr Watts' hymn-

> Were the whole realm of nature mine, That were an offering far too small.

And all the while, in anticipation of the collection, his hand was in his pocket scraping the edge of a threepenny bit, to make sure that it was not a fourpenny.

All such guesses are likely to be wide of the mark, and, indeed, when flippant critics grow humorous or cynical, and when well-to-do people grow contemptuous over what they deem shabby contributions, they need to be reminded that the mites of the widow were of more

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^{*&}quot; The Elder at the Plate." By Nicholas Dickson.





value than the shekels of the purse-proud Pharisee, in the eyes of Him who judges not according to appearances, but tries the heart. George Mac Donald's paraphrase is memorable—

> Stately, lang robit, and stappin' at ease, The rich man gaed up the Temple ha'; Hasty an' grippin' her twa bawbees, The widow cam' aifter, boo'd and sma'.

His gowd rung lood as it fell an' lay Yellow an' glintin', bonnie and braw, But the folk roun' the Maister heard Him say— The puir body's bawbees were mair than it a'.

The average church-door collection for a time ranged from 20 to 30 shillings each Sunday. The first balancesheet for the year ending 31st December, 1851, is by no means trivial.

Church door Collections .. £97 0 9 ,, (per Mr. H. Clark) .. 17 16 61 Seat Rents from 7th March .. 71 8 6 Sustentation Fund from 19th Nov. 39 6 o - £225 II 93 Extraordinary Collections :---In Purchase of School House, N.E. Valley I2 O O For Roofing and Seating Addition to First Church of Otago .. 110 2 6 For Building Church at Port Chalmers .. 99 19 6 £447 13 91

The balance-sheet is given under the hand of Mr. James Brown, Treasurer to the Deacons' Court. In a little side chapel of the famous Melrose Abbey there is a quaint Latin inscription-Ora pro anima Petri aerarii-Pray for the soul of Peter the Treasurer. The old custodian of that venerable pile was wont to call the attention of visitors to the inscription, and assert with emphasis : "A worthy man ye may rest assured, else he wadna hae gotten his name kerved up there, and in that connection." There can be no doubt that deacons, especially treasurers of deacons' courts, when they are men of method, and look well to the finances of the Church, are deserving of all praise. In that early time especially, when the homes of contributors to the Sustentation Fund lay far apart, and in many cases could only be reached by wading through deep mud, or springing from tussock to flax bush, some parts of a deacon's work needed, besides the spiritual qualities of which St. Paul speaks in his Epistle to Timothy, a physical equipment of which he takes no note.

Besides the principal school in Dunedin, taught for the first two years by Mr. Blackie, with an attendance of between 70 and 80, and a girls' school, taught by Miss Peterson, at the foot of Walker Street, with an attendance of about 20, there was also as early as 1851 a school in the North-East Valley, with an attendance of between 20 and 30. It was held for a time in a little fern-tree hut with a clay floor. There was also a school with about 20 scholars at Port Chalmers; and a fourth at East Taieri. Another was started after a while at Green Island by the Rev. Alex. Bethune. Mr. Blackie's salary was to be paid from the Trust Funds, but after the new arrangements, the teacher had to depend on school fees and special collections. So early as 1849 the Session took the matter of fees into consideration. It was agreed to intimate from the pulpit "that one

quarter's fees should be paid in advance on the 1st of August into the hands of Mr Blackie by the several scholars attending the school, and that 2s. per quarter should be paid for every child learning English reading, and 3s. per quarter for all other children." It was also resolved at a later period that a quarterly collection should be made at the church door towards the support of the district schools. It is abundantly evident that the Session was strenuously bent on securing such a system of education as would realise the lofty ideal projected by the Lay Association. Not only were primary schools established to keep pace with the widening Settlement so that every child would have the opportunity of learning to read and write, but the founding of a high-class grammar school in Dunedin was steadily kept in view. "If the Colony were a little further advanced," says the report of Session sent Home in 1851, "we must have an academical institution of superior character in Dunedin, for it is felt to be of the last importance, towards the best and highest well-being of the Settlement, that the means of a thoroughly good education should be within the reach of the rising generation." It need hardly be said, seeing the schools were under the direct control of the Church, that religious instruction was carefully attended to.

When in 1852 the Imperial Parliament granted a political constitution to New Zealand, the Colony was divided into seven provinces. The original Otago block constituted thenceforth a very small part of the Province of Otago. When the Provincial Council, which was composed of three town and six country members met, one of its first duties was to deal with education. A select committee, consisting of Messrs. James Macan-

drew, John Gillies, Alex. Rennie, and W. H. Reynolds, was appointed to revise a series of resolutions which had been submitted to the council by the Superintendent and his Executive. In accordance with the report of the committee, it was resolved in 1854 to establish a High School in Dunedin, and to instruct the Home agents to secure the services of a competent Rector, and also several teachers for district schools. The onus of providing for the educational needs of the Province was then taken over by the Provincial Government. In 1856 the first Education Ordinance came into force. Residents in prescribed districts were empowered to elect local committees, and an Education Board was constituted. It consisted, besides the Superintendent and his Executive, of the Rector of the High School, and two representatives from each committee. There was very definite provision made for religious instruction. The Ordinance stipulated that "every School Committee should appoint certain stated hours for ordinary religious instruction by the schoolmaster, at which children shall not have to attend if their parents or guardians object." The following is the list of schools, with the teachers who were in the service of the Board, as given in the first report for the year 1856-57.

SCHOOLS. TEACHERS. ATTENDANCE. Alex. Livingston DUNEDIN .. IOI DUNEDIN .. A. R. Livingston DUNEDIN .. Miss Dodds . . 14 . . Colin Allan PORT CHALMERS 31 GREEN ISLAND Adam Wright . . 20 EAST TAIERI John Hislop 36 TOKOMAIRIRO Alex. Ayson 34

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE MACEDONIAN CRY AND THE RESPONSE.

Ship after ship arrived from Home with its company of settlers. In 1850 the entire population, as ascertained by Mr. Burns in the course of pastoral visitation, was 1161. Close on 300 of these lived at such a distance from Dunedin as to be out of reach of the Church. In 1851 the number had increased to close on 1600, exclusive of over 120 Natives the majority of whom lived at the Heads. A census of the religious denominations was taken by Mr. Burns the same year. The result is given in the Report of Session drawn up for transmission to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. There were 1100 Presbyterians and 250 Episcopalians. About 100 of the latter were of a very mixed character: old whalers, runaway sailors, and nondescripts who had been shaken from the skirts of civilisation in other lands. The bulk of the working people belonging to the Episcopalians did not attend church. There were, however, not a few families who not only worshipped with the Presbyterians but also sat down with them at their half-yearly Communions. One of these (Mr Valpy?) writing to a friend on the 20th of August, 1850, says :---" We feel much favoured in having such a minister as Mr Burns; and we both, and, indeed, all our family, much enjoy his truly Gospel ministry, which in these days is a great blessing." There were also 61 Independents, 11 Roman Catholics, and a few belonging to other denominations. It is somewhat significant to find that the few Roman Catholics were not lost sight of by their Church, nor allowed to stray untended from her fold. In the summer of 1850 a French priest from Wellington visited them and baptised their children.

Of the remaining part of the population, some lived outside the Otago Block, about Waikouaiti and its neighbourhood, and some drifted hither and thither with no settled purpose in life. The great majority of the population was located as follows :----Within a circuit of five or six miles round Dunedin there were upwards of 1100; along the sides of the harbour, including Port Chalmers, 228; in Taieri, Kuri Bush, &c., 104; in Waihola and Tokomairiro, 25; in Clutha, 20; in Waikouaiti, &c., 50. It will be seen how inadequate the church accomodation was. The building in Dunedin, with its latest addition, was seated for 400; when crammed it could hold about 500. It was regularly filled, lobby and all. "I can see," said Mr. Burns, "women standing at the windows outside with infants in their arms, partly from want of room, and partly from fear of the infants disturbing the congregation." Little could be done to provide ordinances of religion for outlying districts.

The Rev. Wm. Nicolson, who had been Mr. Macandrew's minister in London, and had come out with him in the Titan *en route* to Hobart, was delayed two months in Otago in the beginning of 1851, waiting for the return of the ship from Wellington that was to convey him to his destination. In a letter to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church, he urges very strongly the need of an agent to attend to the religious and educational wants of the outlying settlers in Otago. A man who could devote a few hours each week to the teaching of the young, carry the gospel with affectionate earnestness from house to house, and preach on Sunday, seemed to him the kind of agent most suited to the sparse and widely scattered populace lying outside the range of Mr. Burns' stated ministry. He describes a visit which he paid to a part of the Taieri : "The only human habitations," he says, "were two sheep stations, about five miles apart. I was accompanied by three guides, all of us on horseback, and reached the first station on a Saturday afternoon. The station consisted of a single tent of one apartment. There we remained for the night, and next morning proceeded to the other station, to which notice had been previously sent to have all their people collected for the religious service. We made up a congregation of thirteen persons, to whom I preached the gospel. This may reasonably be reckoned the first time the gospel had been preached in that region."* In view of the spread of population, and the utter impossibility of one minister overtaking the work that needed to be done, it was resolved to appeal to the mother Church to send out a missionary, and undertake his support for three years.

One can see that it was with great reluctance the Session felt constrained to avow that they were not in a position to guarantee support for such an agent. In the Memorial drawn up for the Convener of the Colonial Committee by the Session in June, 1852, it is stated that instead of asking monetary help from the Home Church, the memorialists had been expecting to make a move in the opposite direction of providing a bursary for the Free Church College, as well as a collection for its Mission Fund. The Memorial no doubt evoked

^{* &}quot;Annals of the Disruption," 569.

sympathy, but the Home Church had its resources fully taxed by other schemes, and no missionary of the kind and on the terms applied for was sent. The Memorial was treated as virtually an application for another minister. Mr. Burns kept on visiting the country districts as often as possible. The half-yearly Communion, also, drew scattered members together from the Taieri and elsewhere. The pulse of a common life was thus made to beat through the whole body, and all were enabled to feel, though widely separated, that they were members one of another.

The devices resorted to in order to overtake work that seemed necessary sometimes involved much selfdenial and labour. The opening of the new church at Port Chalmers in 1852 is a case in point. It was felt to be desirable in every way that the church there should be opened on Sabbath, but it seemed very undesirable to close the door of the church in Dunedin, and thus deprive 400 worshippers of their customary services. It was suggested that the difficulty would be got over to some extent if a considerable number of the churchgoing people in Dunedin could be induced to go to Port Chalmers. The Session accordingly resolved that two of their number, Messrs. Adam and Bain, should be appointed to procure as many boats as possible for conveying people to the Port. It was prudently arranged that, if the weather proved unfavourable, the opening of the church should be postponed.

Before the application sent Home in 1852 for a missionary to take pastoral charge of the rural districts could be complied with, it became evident to the Session that a third minister was urgently required. A meeting of that body was held on the 27th June, 1853, to take



into consideration the spiritual necessities of the rural districts. The draft of an address bearing on the subject was read by Capt. Cargill. It was agreed to print and circulate it as widely as possible without delay. It was also agreed to call a meeting of all those who had held office in Home churches to confer as to the most effective means of bringing Gospel ordinances within the reach of all the settlers. A meeting of office-bearers was accordingly held in the house of Capt. Cargill on the 16th July. Owing to illness the minister was unable to be present. Besides the office-bearers of the First Church there were present Rev. Robert Hood, Messrs. John Gillies, James Macandrew, Peter Lindsay, and James Sounnes, all of whom had been office-bearers at Home. It was resolved that steps should be taken at once to organise a Sustentation Fund throughout the Settlement for the support of two additional ministers. To this end it was suggested that deputies should be sent from the Deacons' Court to the various districts. Meantime it was decided that an effort should be made to raise £200 to cover the passage and outfit of two ministers from Home. A subscription list was at once begun, and a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Jaffray, Adam, and Macandrew, was appointed to procure further subscribers. A meeting of Session held on the 1st of August heartily endorsed the action of these office-bearers, and appointed deputies to visit the country districts to explain the working of the Sustentation Fund, stir up the people to form Associations, appoint collectors, and otherwise organise so as to make ready for the settlement of a minister amongst them.

The news of the Rev. Wm. Will's appointment reached Dunedin in October, 1853. And at the very

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time the movement to send for a third minister had ripened into a definite resolution on this side of the globe, the Colonial Committee on the other side had, on its own motion, appointed the Rev. Wm. Bannerman. So that the third minister crossed the application for his appointment somewhere in mid-ocean. Both Mr. Will and he set sail from London in the ship Stately, and arrived at Port Chalmers on the 8th January, 1854.

They were welcomed with open arms. A kind Providence brought Mr. Bannerman to the manse. How soon the love-light began to dawn, history cannot tell; it only knows that there he afterwards found his wife. Mr. and Mrs. Will found a genial hospitality under the roof of Capt. Cargill. The first Sabbath after their arrival they preached in Dunedin, Mr. Will in the forenoon, and Mr. Bannerman in the afternoon. At the close of the service the Session, along with the two ministers, met and was constituted, the deacons being also associated. The Moderator "offered up fervent thanksgiving to God for so signal an expression of His goodness and mercy towards this Church, and commended the ministers, and their future ministry in this Colony, to the guidance and blessing of God." After this the new ministers received the right hand of fellowship from the assembled office-bearers. The Session managed to put their own pious emotion into their minute. It stands there still, sparkling with grateful feeling, joyfully acknowledging the Divine favour " towards the inhabitants of the Colony in providing them with such an adequate supply of Gospel ordinances at the very time when such a supply was at once so earnestly desired and so urgently needed."

A public meeting to welcome the new ministers was held in Stafford House. Capt. Cargill, who had been elected Superintendent of the Province, was in the chair. In speaking of the past, he said, with a significance that is best appreciated by those who know the jealousies and contendings of that early time, "that much joy, much that was good, had been experienced at the hands of God, and not a little of hindrance and vexation at the hand of man."

The ceaseless irritation of the opposing minority, consisting for the most part of a few envious Englishmen, who got to be known as the "little enemy," sometimes vexed the soul and wearied the patience of the leaders of the community. As a rule, however, they treated this enemy with generous forbearance. It was a high privilege for which they were thankful, not a crime of which they had cause to be ashamed, that they were the dominant party in Church and State. If in working out the divine purpose, of which they believed themselves to be the ministers, they endeavoured to act in accordance with their genuine convictions, that was no reason why they should be branded as bigots by a few men of different ancestry and training, who saw with other eyes than they. Anyhow, they had the courage of their own convictions; which greatly needed quality may God grant to all of us !

CHAPTER XV.

REVS, W. WILL AND W. BANNERMAN.

WILLIAM WILL was born on the 27th April, 1825, in the parish of Collace, Perthshire. This parish is bound up, in the memories of all readers of evangelical literature in Scotland, with the names of Andrew Bonar and his ardently pious friend, Robert Murray McChevne. Bonar was settled there in September, 1838, and McChevne was often in his pulpit, especially at Communion seasons. It is somewhat strange how the ripeness of manhood bends back with its weight of attainment and experience to the simplicity of youth. Whatever Mr. Will's preaching may have been for the first thirty years of his ministry in Otago, his hearers know that it has, alike in its themes and its setting, been coming round to the persuasive simplicity and gentleness of Bonar's method. He attended Bonar's Bible Class. and, during a formative period of life, came under the spell of his fervent evangelism. He stepped from the school of his native parish to the Grammar School of Dundee, and thence to the University of Edinburgh. The Free Church set herself, after the Disruption, to provide an Arts curriculum as well as a Divinity course for her students. Mr. P. C. MacDougal was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Mr. A. C. Fraser Professor of Logic and Metaphysics. Mr. Will attended the lectures of both. That he was no loser in so doing is clear from the fact that, after the University tests were abolished and the Free Church ceased to supply her students with the means of equipment in Arts, Professor MacDougal was appointed successor to "Christopher North," and Professor Fraser to Sir William Hamilton in the University.

While in the Modern Athens, he attended the ministry of Dr. Robert Gordon-a man of rare endowments. It was he who seconded Chalmers' motion in the Assembly of 1842 for the adoption of the Claim of Rights. As a preacher, "he made a wonderful impression by the force of his conviction, the fervour of his spirit, and the beauty of his character."* His lofty and stern sense of duty is evident from his famous utterance on severing his connection with the Established Church at the Disruption. "I do it," he said, "most unwillingly; I am compelled by a force far more terrible to me than the baton of the constable. or the musket of the soldiers-I am compelled by my conscience." Some traits of both Bonar and Gordon are assuredly found in Mr. Will. He has tenderness; but when his conscience grips, neither smile nor frown will make him deviate a hair's breadth from his sense of right. He taught a mission school, and served as a deacon in connection with the Free High Church. He seems to have set his heart on colonial work ere his student days came to a close. When sunning himself with some fellow students on a hillside near the "Birks of Aberfeldy," during a summer holiday, the talk turned on their future work. "I think," said Will, of giving my life to the Colonies; it may be hard work, but they need young ministers there." His decision was made known to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church,

^{*} Dr. Blackie's " r achers of Scotland."

and in August, 1853, he was appointed second minister to Otago. He was licensed and ordained by the Presbytery of Irvine, where he had been engaged in Home Mission work.

After the glad welcome which he received in Dunedin he proceeded to the Taieri by the road that had been formed as far south as Scrogg's Creek. His wife and he travelled by bullock dray. He has reminiscences of some mishaps to himself and his goods by the way. The bridge at Abbotsford broke down as he was crossing. Farther on, about the descent of Saddle Hill, a barrel of crockery got shaken from the dray, and rolled into a deep gully. It lay there untouched for several weeks; when opened, not a dish was broken.

Sunday, 19th February, 1854, was truly a red-letter day in the history of East Taieri. On that day Mr. Burns conducted service in the forenoon, and afterwards introduced Mr. Will to his people. Mr. Will himself preached in the afternoon. The building in which they met was used for school purposes during the week. It was about 16ft. square. There were settlers from Green Island, North Taieri, and Waihola, as well as East Taieri; yet for all, so widely scattered and so sparse was the population, the room was only comfortably filled. There were no buggies then, and very few farm horses. Slow-paced bullocks dragged rough sledges along the unformed roads, the driver spending immense energy in plying his heavy whip and in shouting, not always in the most choice language, to his reluctant The dress of the people was in no sense team. elaborate. A fresh blue shirt of coarse wool served the purpose of a dress coat, and with a tan-coloured belt gave a Sunday finish to a man's apparel. The

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women had little opportunity of studying fashions. Though their hands were somewhat stiffened by the hard toil of fireside and farm, yet they by no means lost their cunning. Little turnings and changes, with a deft touch here and there, "gars auld claes look a'maist as weel's the new."

The primitive setting of the congregation was glorified by the intelligence and kindliness which beamed in the faces of the audience. Some, indeed, had the idea that they had been cheated out of their dearly-bought privilege of calling a minister. The ludicrousness, however, of candidates coming all the way from Scotland to make trial of their gifts before a congregation in the Antipodes must have bubbled up and rendered somewhat droll their non-committal expression. The hearty way in which, at the close of the service, most of the people grasped their new minister's hand, and in brief but genuine speech bade him welcome, made him feel at home. The talk by firesides that Sabbath evening was in favour of the minister. There was prayer, too, that the God of Abraham and of all others who had gone forth at the behest of duty, not knowing whither they went, would be with the man who had left home and kindred and all the tender associations of the Old Land to minister to them. All who prayed thus felt that, though they had picked from a list of a hundred candidates, they could not have made a better choice. It was the Lord's doing, and marvellous in their eyes.

William Bannerman was born in the "lang toon" of Kirkcaldy, on the 8th of September, 1822. He had barely time to get the caller air of the Firth, or the smell of herring boats, or the complex odours of the

Greenland whaling craft into his nostrils, before his parents removed with him to Edinburgh. There he received the scholastic part of his education. But apart from schools, there are other most potent teachers there -the grim old castle, the crown of St. Giles, the monuments of Greyfriars, the house of Knox, the palace of Holvrood. What subtle influences stream into a bright, receptive lad from the stories of Jenny Geddes and Queen Mary! He passed through the High School with all its stimulating traditions, and entered the University. From the Arts curriculum there, he went to the Theological College of the Free Church. What a baptism to have lived in those days, when heroes wrestled through the Ten Years' Conflict, and all Scotland rang with the overpowering eloquence of Chalmers, and the masculine logic of Cunningham, and the swift, sure-footed thrusts of Candlish, and the humorous sallies or tearful pleadings of Guthrie! If men had come away from these influences without having cubits of stature added to their manhood, then their manhood must have had a miserably small foundation to begin with. But Bannerman did profit by the lessons of these masters, as features of his after life abundantly proved.

During his college career he was engaged as tutor in a family, and had the privilege of accompanying one of his pupils on a Continental tour. They walked from Zurich to Milan, and back again to Mt. Gothard. They saw the glories of mediæval architecture, and all the squalid developments alike in moral character and social custom of papal tyranny. They saw the birthplace of modern Presbyterianism in the city of Calvin, and visited there men like Merle D'Aubigne and Cæsar Malan, who

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were doing so much to throw the light of historical research and evangelical simplicity into the dark intricacies of the papal domain.

Mr. Bannerman was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, and after a time was appointed to organise a congregation at Crathie. He laboured with much success in that picturesque parish so closely associated with Balmoral and the Royal lady whose heart it has captured, so that she is ever eager to return to it and ever loath to leave it. He had long distances to walk in overtaking his work in the valley of the Dee. His Sabbath services were held in a barn on the estate of Abergeldy; so that alike in walking and in odd meeting-places he was serving a useful apprenticeship for his work in the Colonies. He was afterwards stationed for some time at Echt. Here he won the hearts of the people, and they were anxious to give him a call; but untoward circumstances came in the way. The Spirit of Jesus suffered him not; and passing by Echt he came down to Perth. That was his Troas.

He supplied the pulpit of the Rev. John Milne of Perth after he had gone to Calcutta. It must have stirred everything that was gracious in the young preacher to follow in the footsteps of such a seraphic man. Andrew Bonar and Milne were bosom friends, and playful letters used to pass between them. In one of these Bonar said, "You are an Ignatius, you choose martyrdom, and even provoke the lions to tear you." Mr. Bannerman has had something of the same ardent Ignatian spirit, only he has been in most cases, perhaps, a match for the lions. He has felt called upon, more than most men, to enter the arena of debate; and he has never been backward in responding to the call. Of course, in controversy, a champion is judged very much by the side he espouses. Those who agree with him regard every utterance as an oracle; while those who differ from him regard his wisest speech as arrant folly. Some allowance must be made, therefore, for the bias of a hearer. Still, the opinion regarding Mr. Bannerman's powers of debate expressed by a friend of his long ago need not be misleading. " I goes," he said, "into Dunedin to the Seenod, an' I sits down there; an' Mr. Bannerman he stands up, an' he shust puts his thoombs into his waistcoat pooches, an' he wheeps them aa'." On a page of Bonar's Diary stands this interesting entry : -- " Thursday, 22nd (September, 1853). As the fruit of my hours with God I have no doubt it was that to-day I had singular help of spirit when addressing Mr. Bannerman at his ordination before going to New Zealand." It was no mean privilege for a man to be brought into contact with such devoted ministers as Andrew Bonar and John Milne.

When at Perth, the head of a family, in which he had been tutor, wrote asking Mr. Bannerman to accompany him to Otago. There was at that time no further application before the Colonial Committee for an additional minister. As the necessity for such was, however, likely to arise soon, it was arranged that Mr. Bannerman should be ordained, and go, to some extent, on his own responsibility. How the Divine eye was at both ends, caring for the interests of minister and people, has already been noted.

Mr. Bannerman stayed in Dunedin, and took the services of Mr. Burns in his absence at East Taieri.

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After the settlement of Mr. Will there, Mr. Bannerman came on and joined Mr. Burns, and they pushed on to his allotted sphere in the south. They were accompanied to the boundary of his parish at Waihola by Mr. Will. They got to Tokomairiro in due course, and on the evening of their arrival a meeting was held in the house of Mr. Alexander Duthie. After service Mr. Bannerman was introduced to the little congregation. The heartiness of their greeting was very manifest, and their oftenexpressed wish that he might soon be back amongst them, made the prospect of future visits a welcome and cheering influence in his life. They reached the Clutha on Saturday. On the morrow a service was held in Mr. Redpath's house at the head of the Island. There was an attendance of between thirty and forty persons. Some of them had walked over ten miles, threading their tortuous way through the tall flax and the rank growth of tussocks and toi-tois. They were not in any degree behind the Taieri people in the cordial reception they gave to their minister, or in their intelligent appreciation of his services. There were Christian souls there, too, who thanked God that Sabbath evening for sending such a man amongst them.

"It was undoubtedly," wrote such a competent judge as Dr. John Hislop, in the *Evangelist* of August 2nd, 1875, "a blessing to Otago and its Presbyterian churches that its first two rural clergymen should have been such men as Messrs. Will and Bannerman. They were certainly men of the right stamp. They were in the very vigour of early manhood; they were possessed of sound physical frames; they were endowed with more than average mental powers and force of character; they were kindly in disposition; and, above all, they

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were earnest and devoted ministers of the Cross, never sparing themselves, and never grudging either time or labour when their services were required."

Charges at present in Mr. Will's original district, with Date of Settlement, Names of Ministers, Staff of Elders and Deacons (or `Managers), and Number of Members:-

East Taieri; 1854:-Will.-8 E.; 10 D.; 270 M.

WAIHOLA; 1858 :- McNicol, Allan, Paterson, Borrie, Hall, Somerville.--10 E.; 18 M.; 170 M.

WEST TAIERI; 1860:—Urie, Gillies, Kirkland.—7 E.; 12 D.; 270 M.

GREEN ISLAND; 1864:-Dr. Watt.-8 E.; 9 D.; 171 M.

North TAIERI; 1865:-Davidson, Sutherland, Paulin.-2 E.; 8 M.; 83 M.

Mosgiel; 1886:-McKerrow, 6 E.; 12 M.; 184 M.

Charges at present in part of Mr. Bannerman's original district north of Mataura, with Date of Settlement, Names of Ministers, Staff of Elders and Deacons (or Managers), and Number of Members:—

СLUTHA; 1854:—Bannerman, Dalrymple.—8 Е.; 11 М.; 176 М. Токомангко; 1859:—Todd, Chisholm.—12 Е.; 17 D.; 410 М. Імен Сцитна; 1863:—Kirkland, Allan.—7 Е.; 6 М.; 130 М. Warepa; 1865:—Waters, Inglis, Kilpatrick—7 Е.; 8 D.; 171 М.

BALCLUTHA; 1870:—Arnott, McAra, Morice, Currie.—7 E.; 9 D.; 197 M.

Роротимоа; 1868 :— Connor, Spence.— 7 Е.; 16 D.; 207 М. (Романака; 1864 :— Urie.

(TAPANUI; 1872:-Bett, Scorgie, Begg.-8 E.; 10 D.; 181 M.

KNAPDALE; 1883:—Wright, Ramsay.—4 E.; 6 M.; 99 M. OWAKA; 1885:—McLaren, Gray—7 E.; 12 M.; 166 M. KAITANGATA; 1889:—Fairmaid.—8 E.; 8 D.; 248 M. KELSO; 1891:—Comrie, Kyd.—5 E.; 10 M.; 133 M. FORTROSE; 1888:—Johnston.—5 E.; 20 M.; 104 M. WAIKAKA; 1894:—Miller.—7 E.; 10 M.; 90 M. LOVELLS FLAT; 1895:—Fraser.—I E.; 3 D.; 59 M. PUKERAU; 1897:—Howes.—3 E.; 15 D; 76 M.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST PRESBYTERY.

PREVIOUS to 1854 the Kirk Session of the First Church rightly regarded itself as under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh. It was to that Presbytery Mr. Burns belonged when he left Scotland, and his relation to it continued unbroken until such time as a superior judicatory was instituted in Otago. When two additional ministers arrived, the necessary conditions for forming a Presbytery came into existence. Sufficient time was allowed the ministers to get abreast of their work and become fairly acquainted with their new surroundings. On the 27th of June they met in Dunedin to inaugurate a Presbytery. It was a forward movement in the Church's organised life, and a large congregation was present to witness the proceedings. The process of evolution was very simple. It shows how, without outside pressure or control of any civil power, the Church, in virtue of the light and life which are ministered to her through the Spirit of her risen and glorified Head, proceeds to shape her polity in His name and in accordance with His revealed will. An ordinary service was conducted by Mr. Burns, his text being Hebrews XIII., 17. He then stated that the ministers had come together by pre-concert, and after public intimation to that effect had been given, for the purpose of constituting a Presbytery. He referred to his ecclesiastical position

as an ordained minister in Dunedin; Mr. Will then read the certificate of his ordination by the Free Church Presbytery of Irvine on the 6th September, 1853; Mr. Bannerman also read the certificate of his ordination by the Free Church Presbytery of Perth on the 22nd September, 1853. Thereafter it was moved by Mr. Will, seconded by Mr. Bannerman, and agreed to— "That the ministers now present, along with such elders as have commissions from Kirk Sessions to represent them, do now constitute themselves, in the name of the Head of the Church, a Presbytery, by the name and title of the Presbytery of the Church of Otago, and appoint the Rev. Thomas Burns to be their Moderator."

The first business was the appointment of a clerk. In view of the singularly important business to be transacted, it was felt that the one man most capable of guiding the Presbytery, and giving clear and adequate literary expression to its resolutions, was John McGlashan. the Provincial Solicitor. He readily agreed to place his rare talents at the service of the Church, and he was appointed her procurator, with a seat as a constituent member in the Presbytery. The Free Church was signally favoured at the outset of her career, and all through her early struggles, with the chivalrous devotion of a band of eminent lawyers. She owes a good deal of her intellectual prestige, and the wide culture and legal acumen which she has always been able to bring to bear on public questions, to a succession of office-bearers occupying highest rank in the legal profession. In the fore-front of them all stood Murray Dunlop, author of her justly-admired "Claim of Rights," and her unanswerable "Protest." John McGlashan was a man of the same type.

He was born in Edinburgh on the 7th November, 1802, and received his education at the High School and University there. He was articled as a law clerk, and successfully passed through the laborious preparation required of solicitors. After being admitted to the Bar, he wrote several legal treatises of high value. He was one of the earliest, and continued to be one of the most enlightened and zealous advocates of the Otago scheme. In conjunction with Captain Cargill and Dr. Burns, he helped to commend it alike to capitalists and labourers. He was appointed Secretary to the Association, and edited the Otago Fournal during the four years of its existence, from 1848 to 1852. Through its columns he presented the principles and advantages of the scheme with clearness and force. By a judicious selection of letters from the first settlers he gave a vivid and attractive picture of the infant Colony. He also rendered signal service to Otago, and, indeed, to the whole of New Zealand, by the energy and sagacity he displayed in helping to shape into final form, and pass through the Houses of the Imperial Parliament, the Bill which granted a political constitution to the Colony. His valuable assistance in this connection was acknowledged in an official letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He had made arrangements to cast in his lot with the first band of settlers; but, at the urgent request of the Association, and at great personal sacrifice, he agreed to delay his departure, and work in the interests of the Settlement at Home. He left London in the ship "Rajah," in the middle of June, 1853, and arrived in September. He was entertained in Dunedin at a public dinner, when his able and loyal efforts to promote the welfare of the Settlement were generously acknowledged. He continued to toil in several capacities for



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his adopted country. It was owing very much to his wise guidance that the period of transition in educational matters was so smoothly and successfully passed, and the responsibility of providing in a systematic way for the educational needs of the whole Settlement was taken up by the Provincial Government. No one can read the eminently dignified and lucid form he has given to the Minutes of the first Presbytery without being convinced of his lofty character as well as his literary culture. He is a pioneer whose memory ought to be held in lasting honour by the entire community.

The Elders who were appointed to represent Kirk Sessions handed in their commissions, and the roll was made up as follows :—

MINISTERS.—Rev. Thomas Burns, of Dunedin.
Rev. William Will, of the Taieri and Waihola
districts.
Rev. William Bannerman, of the Clutha and
Tokomairiro districts.
ELDERS - Captain William Cargill, Superintendent of the
Province of Otago, Commissioner from
the Kirk Session of Dunedin.
Mr. John Allan, Commissioner from the Kirk
Session of Taieri.
Mr. John McGlashan, Provincial Treasurer and
Solicitor, Procurator of the Church,

In view of the fundamental and far-reaching nature of the subjects with which the Presbytery had to deal, it was agreed to request the office-bearers of the Church, and also all who had held office in Presbyterian churches at Home, to sit along with the members, and assist with their advice in all matters to come before the Presbytery. The following is the list of those who complied with the request :— Rev. Robert Hood, Messrs. James Adam, Charles Robertson, George Hepburn, George Brown, James Elder Brown, Henry Clark, John Gillies, William Young, Thomas Ferguson, Thomas Bell, George Shand, Andrew Kay, James Cullen, Alexander Chalmers, Peter Lindsay, James Brown, William Smith, James Ritchie, James Sounness.

Loyal addresses to Her Majesty and to His Excellency the Governor were adopted and ordered to be transmitted through the ordinary channels. 'A resolution conveying fraternal greetings to the other Presbyterian Churches in New Zealand was passed. The Presbytery therein expressed its earnest desire for the fellowship and co-operation of these Churches in carrying on the hallowed work of advancing pure and undefiled religion in these Islands " as far as may be practicable in present circumstances, hoping and praying that in His own good time, and at no distant period, through the favour of the great Head of the Church, a closer union of these Churches and this Church may be consummated."

An address to the General Assembly of the Free Church, full of fine feeling beautifully expressed, was also adopted. Long and very thorough consideration was given to what are called the secular affairs of the Church. It was agreed that these should be administered in five branches, by separate agencies, as follows :—Ist. A Sustentation Fund to be administered by a large Committee, which was afterwards appointed, with Mr. John Gillies as its Convener. 2nd. The Church lands and all other "realised property," such as buildings, &c., to be vested in a Board of Trustees, which should hold all the property as the legal hand of the Church, and administer it as the Church herself, through her superior court, might direct. 3rd. The general income accruing annually to the Church to be administered by the Presbytery itself. 4th. The financial affairs of each congregation to be managed by its own local Deacons' Court. 5th. A committee for checking and auditing accounts, and making sure that the various funds are administered in accordance with their respective regulations. Mr. W. H. Reynolds was appointed General Treasurer.

A Sustentation Fund Committee, appointed by the First Church Deacons' Court, had been working for some time, and its treasurer, Mr. James Adam, was able to report an equal dividend of $\pounds 67$ to each minister for the half-year ending June 30th, 1854. The Presbytery aimed at securing a minimum dividend of f_{200} a year. and urged vigorous measures for the attainment of this result. For several years, however, the dividend did not rise to that height. It kept to the level of about f160. It was suggested, in view of the stagnancy of the fund, that a strenuous effort should be made to reach a dividend of \pounds_{300} , on the principle, it is presumed, that if f_{160} could be obtained by aiming at £200, a proportionate increase would be secured by aiming at f_{300} . There was policy in the suggestion. It contained, also, a principle that works effectively in other spheres of human activity, for low aim is inevitably followed by poor achievement; but whether in money matters it works out in the same way is doubtful. In any case, the ministers refused to give it a trial. They were content to work on aiming at a minimum of £200.

The success of a central fund for the support of ministers by the payment of an equal dividend depends very much on conditions which can only be forthcoming in a Church richly endued with the spirit of Jesus Christ. These conditions, stated in briefest possible form, are :---1st, Simplicity of operation, so as to be easily understood by the common people; 2nd, An appeal to gracious principle, not to selfishness; 3rd, A practical recognition of the unity of the whole Church. Any departure from a common fund and an equal dividend, pure and simple, interferes with one or other of these factors. You pass from grace to law; you appeal to low motives; you accentuate distinction and create animosities; and the reactionary effect on personal piety and Church life is disastrous. It is true that there is always a danger of fostering selfishness by giving scope to grace; and the liberality of some may intensify the churlishness of others, but that is a danger inseparable from grace and liberty.

The Presbytery also gave attention to the principles of the Church, and took steps to induce members to purchase a cheap copy of the "Confession of Faith," "Larger and Shorter Catechisms," "Directory for Public Worship," and "Form of Church Government," a committee being appointed to send Home for a sufficient supply of the books. An important resolution in the line of encouraging elementary and secondary education, with a sound basis of religious instruction, was unanimously agreed to. The Presbytery also showed its desire to foster Sabbath Schools, and to encourage a taste for sacred music.

The next ordinary meeting of Presbytery was held on the 25th October, 1854, precisely the date on which the famous battle of Balaclava was fought, when that wild charge of the Light Brigade was made, at which "all the world wondered." This is remarkable from the fact that it was resolved at that same meeting, in accordance with action taken by the Colonial authorities in the line of a royal proclamation issued to that effect, to hold a day of humiliation and prayer, imploring the Divine blessing upon the British Army in the Crimea, and to make a collection at the services on behalf of the widows and orphans of the soldiers and sailors who had fallen in the war. The pulse of the nation's heart, in her hour of anguish, was felt to the extremities of her scattered members.

By-and-bye, answers came back to the addresses that had been sent here and there by the Presbytery in her natal joy. One cf these-from the General Assembly of the Free Church-was exceedingly touching and impressive: as full fraught with wise affection as the letter of a godly mother to her youngest child. One paragraph ran thus :---" The institution of a Presbytery at the Antipodes, the Assembly could not fail to contemplate as an event of great interest and importance. We know, indeed, that no form of ecclesiastical organisation can secure, as we rejoice to know that none does confine, the communications of the grace of Christ. Yet we know as surely that the Church which is constituted agreeably to the principles and pattern laid down in His Word must as a means be the fittest for its great end, and the most likely to derive upon it that blessing without which the best and wisest means will be used in vain. We rejoice, therefore, in the setting up of the Presbyterian government and discipline in New Zealand, and we congratulate you on the prospect-soon, we trust, to be realised-of the constituting of two other Presbyteries in other Settlements in the Islands, which, if formed into a Synod, may do much to strengthen and concentrate the Presbyterian cause, and thereby, as we believe, the cause of vital Christianity throughout the Colony." The letter closed with the prayer, "That after all the separations of life and of death are past, we may meet, as members together of Christ, fellow-heirs of the endless life and glory which He has prepared as the portion and inheritance of the people of His love."

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CHAPTER XVII.

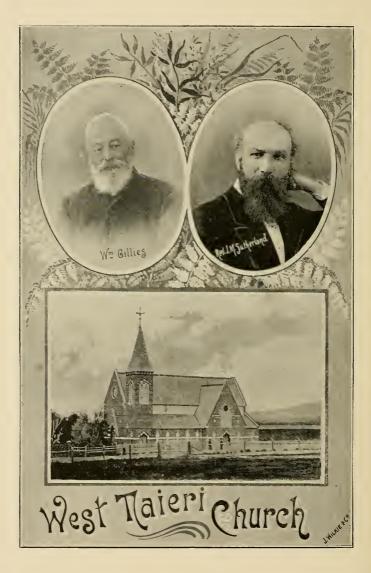
"IN JOURNEYINGS OFTEN IN PERILS OF RIVERS."

THE ministers had often long distances to travel. They had to find their way over trackless and sometimes very rugged country; they had to cross bridgeless creeks and rivers of whose depths, especially when swollen by rain, they were ignorant. There was in such journeyings, along with the physical exertion, a charm of novelty that often relieved the tedium of the way. Mr Burns had, of course, comparatively easy distances to travel in order to overtake his work in and around Dunedin : but when he went on an occasional visit to some outlying district, he experienced some of the drawbacks as well as delights of travel in these early days. On one occasion he was travelling to Tokomairiro in company with two friends. They had to stay all night in Harold's at the Taieri Ferry. It was by no means a spacious abode. However, the minister got the least objectionable bedroom, and the others had to bivouac as best they could. He was driven from his room at an early hour in the morning, and came forth rubbing his limbs. His companions had been either more tried or less patient, for they were on foot some time before, and were ready to condole with him when he appeared. They were thoroughly at one about the kindness of their host, but thought he might be a little more discriminating in his hospitality and less willing to shelter such irritating guests. A carpenter who was working at the place kindly volunteered to row them to the head of Waihola Lake. The boat lay out beyond a muddy bank left bare by the ebbing of the tidal river. The carpenter managed to carry the two laymen on his back without mishap, but the "body of divinity" proved too heavy for him, and he sank knee deep in the mud. Had the minister been a Pliable he would have wriggled back to the solid earth, and wiped his feet and legs on the tussocks that he might appear respectable; but he was intent on doing his duty; and he sacrificed not a particle of his usual dignity although for the rest of the day, like the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, his feet were partly clay.

For the first eighteen months, Mr. Will had to do nearly all his journeyings on foot. During the summer months this was no great hardship; but in winter time, when the roads were ankle-deep in mud, and streams flooded, and swamps dismal with great reaches of brown stagnant water, dotted with Maori-heads, it was somewhat taxing both to muscle and patience. His ordinary Sabbath services for some time were held at East Taieri once a fortnight; at North and West Taieri, once a month; at Taieri Ferry, once a month. Settlers came to the meeting place from a radius of seven or eight miles. The work was greatly lightened when he got a horse. He avers that it was a pleasure to groom and saddle his horse; but where to find it and how to catch it was sometimes perplexing.

In December, 1855, the Green Island settlers petitioned the Presbytery to disjoin them from Dunedin and unite them to East Taieri. They wished the change for two reasons—because of the ease and convenience of the road to East Taieri, and because public worship begau in Dunedin at 11 o'clock, whereas it began at 12 o'clock in East Taieri, and was "concluded at one





diet." The prayer was granted; and thenceforth Green Island became part of Mr. Will's charge. In winter, Divine service was held in a little clay building at the edge of the bush; but in the warm summer days the people met under the ample shade of an old black pine. The minister stood on slightly rising ground with his back to the mottled trunk of the majestic tree; the people stood in front of him, some of them resting with their elbows on the stumps left in the clearing; while the parson birds and mokis rained melody from the overhanging boughs; and parroquets chattered and flashed about in green and gold through the adjoining bush; and the alert robins, with their side-long glance, hopped about among the feet of the worshippers. The top of a stump close at hand bore the collecting-plate, and served as a kind of altar on which the offerings of the people were laid.

In company with an elder (at one time Mr. George Hepburn, at another Mr. John Gillies, at another Mr. Colin Allan), Mr. Will visited the northern parts of the Province as a deputy from the Presbytery. There were neither roads nor bridges then, but the lavish hospitality of the people and their readiness to come together, in dwelling-house or wool-shed, to enjoy the rare privilege of taking part in a religious service and of listening to the preaching of the Gospel, was ample compensation for the weariness and risk involved in travelling. On one occasion Mr. Will and Mr. Gillies were appointed to visit the southern part of the Province. After a very toilsome walk on the beach, not far from Invercargill they came to the mouth of a creek whose brown and sluggish current seemed unfordable. They walked along the bank a short distance in the hope that they might be able to

cross, but there were no signs of the water shallowing. Mr. Will was foot-sore, and utterly averse to the lengthening of his journey by further exploration. He determined to risk the crossing. His companion tried to dissuade him from what seemed a fool-hardy act. But he was resolute. After divesting himself of superfluous clothing, he cautiously waded in. The creek was not so deep as it seemed, and he was able to return and carry Mr. Gillies across. Those who remember the judicial gravity of Mr. Gillies as R.M. of Dunedin, or his becoming solemnity as a muchrespected elder of the Church, will not credit him with a habit of riding hobbies, but it was an exceptional case and admitted of abnormal action.

Mr. Bannerman had a much wider district to cover, and was exposed to greater risks. For the first ten months of his ministry he had no horse, and during that time he walked 3600 miles in the discharge of his duties. Almost immediately after he became the possessor of a horse, he was appointed along with Mr. John McGlashan to visit the northern districts, and report as to their religious necessities. Had he been inured to the saddle, his journey from Clutha to Dunedin, then over Flagstaff to Waikouaiti, Moeraki, Otepopo, and other places, might have been equally tedious, but it would have been less irksome. On one occasion he started to visit the southern part of his district, which extended as far as he could go. He did the journey there and back again on foot. His route lay along the northern side of the Mataura by Tuturau and Toi-Tois or Fortrose. After visiting the widelyscattered stations in these districts, he crossed the Mataura, and started for the Bluff. One part of the

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journey was waterless, and he suffered from thirst. At length he came within sight of a lagoon. He hurried up to it; the water was beautifully clear. He threw down his swag, speedily untied his pannikin, dipped it into the water, and raised it eagerly to his lips—pugh ! it was brackish. He reached the Bluff, and found a lodging for the night in an extemporised booth of rushes, under the lee of a house in course of erection. From the Bluff he got, partly by walking and partly by boating, to where Invercargill now stands. The surveyors were busy laying off the future capital of Southland.

After visiting the people in the neighbourhood, he started on his journey home. He was accompanied by Mr. Logie, at one time Collector of Customs in Dunedin. It began to rain heavily and they got soaked. There was no distinct track; they held too much in the direction of the Hokonuis, and night began to gather round them while they were still a long way from where they expected to strike the Mataura. They resolved to halt for the night. They were ill-provided for such a bivouac; everything was dripping, and no fire could be kindled. Mr. Logie's waterproof was spread on the ground, and his blanket was reserved for a covering; while Mr. Bannerman's plaid, stretched on two upright sticks, was supposed to do duty as a kind of tent. There they lay and tried to sleep. In the gray dawn Mr. Bannerman got up, but was hardly able to move his limbs; they were so stiff with the rain and cold. He found a few dry matches in the bottom of the box, and managed to light his pipe. Then he started to walk, and soon his limbs attained their normal suppleness, a glow of heat returned to his chilled body, and he felt fairly fit for the day's journey. Mr. Logie was much worse than

he, and needed help to regain an upright position. They reached the banks of the Mataura about 7 o'clock, but the Maori ferryman was still asleep, and no intensity of coo-e-ing could rouse him. They hung about, like shivering souls on the banks of the Styx, waiting for grim Charon to ferry them across the bridgeless river that flowed between them and the Elysium of home. And yet when he had accomplished their desire they grudged the obolus of half-a-crown each, and deemed the man an extortioner. They lodged the next night at Otaria, in a recently erected hut, and enjoyed the luxury of billy tea with the scanty residue of the provisions they had laid in at Invercargill. The difficulty next day was to strike the mouth of the Popotunoa Gorge; unless they did this they might wander in vain over the broken and trackless country that lay before them. A traveller had missed that pass through the rugged hills, and trudged about for several days among the rank ferns and tussocks, in deep gullies and on steep hill-sides. He was able to keep himself alive by snaring a lamb, and drinking its warm blood. They were more fortunate; they got through the Gorge, and ere long reached the manse, which was then at Warepa. It was but a clay whare, but for Mr. Bannerman it was home, and its gentle ministries were thrice welcome after the toilsome journey. Mr. Logie slept on, but Mr. Bannerman had to be out in the morning to catch his horse. It was Sabbath, and he had galloped to Clutha, held service there, and was back again for service at Warepa, ere his fellow-traveller had faced the ordeal of getting up and trying to use his aching limbs.

It was sometimes no easy matter for these *avant*courcurs of the Church to reach their appointed stations. The fight with flooded rivers was just as perilous then as in the days of Sisera, when "the River Kishon swept them away." And yet, account for it as we may, these men were, with exceptions memorable because of their rarity, always up to time. They often got drenched not merely by exposure to falling rain, but by wading streams that were swollen from bank to brae, but they had articles of dress here and there, and soon got fit for duty Perhaps some of them have never been nearer the traditional aureole that surrounds a saint than they were in those days. It is related that on one occasion the weather was cold and stormy; the house where the meeting was held small; a big wood fire blazing and crackling on the roomy hobs; a crowded audience; the minister just out of the saddle, after a long ride, with clothes all limp and dripping, standing with his back to the fire conducting the service ; vapour becoming more dense; until to the sleepy senses of some of his audience the minister seemed to be ethereal, surrounded by a dreamy splendour, with his voice sounding as if from the back of time. Perhaps it was one of the sleepers that told the tale. It may be taken for granted that the minister will disclaim all remembrance of it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REV. D. M. STUART.

IT became pressingly evident in 1858 that Dunedin with its suburbs was too large and important a field for the pastoral oversight of one minister. There were at least 2600 Presbyterians within that area. A small congregation, made up of various evangelical denominations, had been meeting for some time under the ministry of Mr. Jeffreys in the building known as the Mechanics' Institute, near to where the Cargill Monument now stands. They would have been content to remain as they were, for Mr. Jeffreys' services were highly prized; but he was constrained by failing health to retire from active work, and they readily fell in with a proposal to secure a second Presbyterian minister for Dunedin. A deputation, consisting of Messrs. John Gillies, James Macandrew, John Mollison, and James Wilkie, waited on the Presbytery at its meeting on 20th December, 1858, and presented a memorial praying the Court to authorise the formation of a second charge. The preamble ran thus: "For some time past there has been a growing feeling in the Dunedin congregation that their minister must soon be provided with some assistance, so that the whole population of Dunedin and the surrounding district may be more fully provided with the ministrations of the Gospel. The office-bearers of the congregation and others held various meetings on this subject, and the result was that on the 11th October last a report was

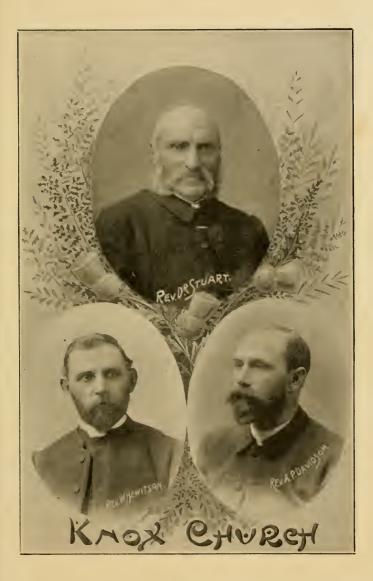
prepared, and read from the pulpit." The memorial then goes on to state that a committee appointed for the purpose prepared a subscription list, to which they received the names of 157 persons promising to pay certain sums into the Sustentation Fund, amounting in the aggregate to £315, in addition to the sums already paid by them. The Presbytery very cordially approved of the object of the memorial, and resolved to take the necessary steps for carrying it into effect. A committee, consisting of the members of the deputation and the Rev. Robert Hood, was appointed to act along with the Presbytery. It was agreed to apply to the Convener of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church (Rev. John Bonar) for an experienced and able minister, and to recommend him to confer with Dr. Guthrie and Professor Millar in the selection of a suitable man.

It was rightly deemed a great venture, and the anxiety with which those who were most interested awaited the result was very keen. It was felt that the future of the Presbyterian Church in Dunedin, and, indeed, throughout Otago, would be greatly influenced by the kind of man that was chosen. Not only, therefore, were the instructions sent Home very specific, but earnest and continual prayer was made that the selectors might be guided aright in their choice. They were guided to a minister whose previous career had furnished at every stage the best possible training for Colonial work. He arrived in the ship Bosworth, with his wife and three boys, on the 27th of January, 1860. By appointment of Presbytery he took the services in First Church for some time, in order to allow Mr. Burns to visit Invercargill, and organise the Presbyterian cause there. The ordinary edict was served; the Presbytery

met; Mr. Burns preached from 2 Kings v., 9-14; the usual questions were asked, and satisfactorily answered; and Donald McNaughton Stuart was inducted into the pastoral charge of Knox Church on the 16th of May, 1860. From that date he filled the foremost place in the affection and life of the growing community, till another 16th of May, 1894, when, worn out with ceaseless toil, his emaciated body was laid to rest amid the wail of a stricken people in the cemetery that faces the sunrise and slopes towards the bay, whose placid waters the morning sunbeams pave as with a lane of pure gold, meet thoroughfare for angel visitants.

He was born on the 5th February, 1819, at a small village called Styx, in the Highlands of Perthshire. His father was a staid, God-fearing man, much respected by his neighbours, and a stone-mason. His mother was a tall, spare woman with an earnest face and a tender expression in her eyes. Both had to toil hard and stint themselves, in order to make a small income cover the needs of eleven children. It was a pious home, marked by the frugal living and sturdy virtues of Scottish peasant life. Family worship was never missed. What Stuart became in after life was very much the ripe result of the seed that had been sown in the home of his childhood. He went to school for a while, but, when nine years of age, was sent to eke out the scanty resources of the household by herding cows. The farmer liked him, and wanted to engage him for another year; but the place was deemed unsuitable, and he returned to home and school again. There is one incident of these days which gives an insight into several things, and shows that the child was father to the man. He was won over more by the coaxing than by the

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FAC SIMILE EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN BY DR. STUART.

I am glad you had such a hotel band of thereits at your communion. It is the hope & life of the elurat and love to Inter to hav tanks the young prets of the land.

I wound why of osking them in these days of forms to L no and in crussing know life to keep their eye on the old land Marke - and if god & 22 give clean when a moreau 3 little ceeding what them hold you beam envoyed to truct them for the man quali gid to fire the trutt a new setting - Dunedin, 1886.

On board the '' Kaikoura,'' June, 1888.

Referring to a pastoral letter written *ecco more* to the Knox Church people.

> Dunedin, 1891.

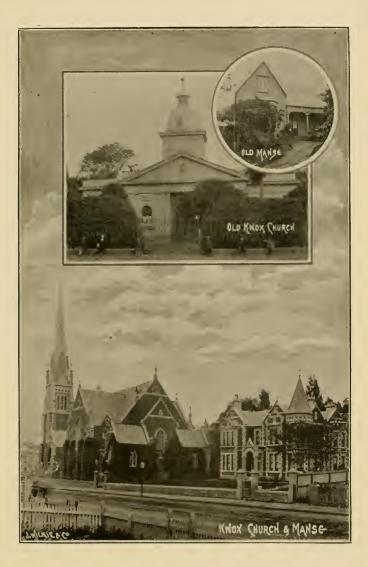
My Cit speed was intended to koedeh own worthigs to the respect the are culitled to - the have had nove foun devs men who e? durice abou al thing - May to men we an idurating revotheir fathers & Connots -

I feet the trial of the last month - - Cret "Le Lord will uppold for to all _ and all monices alessings Jours ever D. m. Stuart -

Dunedin (in bed) April, 1894.

The above extracts from letters to the Rev. Jas. Chisholm are characteristic. They also show how, as his eyesight gradually waxed dim, his handwriting became bolder. "See with how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand."—Gal. vi., 11.





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threats of some older boys to play truant, and go to the woods to gather blaeberries. On the way, he was enjoined not to tell. He agreed to this, but he said— "If I am asked, I must speak the truth." Some time after this, his father went to pay the school fees. The teacher enquired where the boys had been on such and such a day. The father could only reply that they had left home to go to school. When he got back, the boy frankly confessed his fault, and submitted with a good grace to the whipping which he received.

After his own school days were over, he began to teach others. He was wont about this time to carry a bottle of milk to school with the ostensible purpose of making his dry bread more palatable at dinner time, but the milk usually found its way to the table of a poor widow near by, whose only son was disabled by asthma. In 1837, he began an adventure school at Leven, in Fifeshire, and fought his way to success with patient valour. Beginning with but one scholar, he left the school two and a-half years afterwards with over seventy on the roll. He entered the University of St. Andrew's, and passed with distinction through an Arts curriculum. While here during the winter sessions, his own earnings were eked out by a little box, regularly sent from the old home, with cakes and scones, and eggs and butter, "smelling of Flora and the country green." During the summer vacations, he taught in a school or travelled here and there as tutor in a family, ever keeping his eyes and ears open to what was lovely and of good report. In Edinburgh, he came for a short time under the spell of Dr. Chalmers, and drank deep draughts of inspiration from that greatest of modern Scotchmen-so massive in every noble quality. From the grey metropolis in the north, he went to the sunnier south, and did good educational work at Windsor. Here he met the lady whose gentleness helped to make him great, and to whose saintly memory he clung all through his troubled life with a most touching devotion. He studied theology and kindred subjects in London, and thus was fitted by scholarly attainments for the work of the Christian ministry—the goal which he had kept steadily in view from the beginning, and towards which all his past efforts had been persistently directed.

Ere long he was settled at Falstone, in Northumberland, where he was brought into contact with men of a primitive type-grave shepherds many of them who had leisure to meditate on the deep things of God. He soon endeared himself to the people, and commended the Gospel to them not only by his vigorous preaching, but by his devoted life. He took a great interest in the education of the children, and at one part of the district got a bridge erected over the Tyne, that scholars might the more easily pass to and from the school. Every year after he left the place, he sent a pound to keep the bridge in good repair. While in Falstone, the call to Knox Church found him. He had been attracted to Colonial life. His vivid imagination loved to picture the landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers" at Plymouth Rock, and the building "amidst the primeval forest of villages which are now opulent cities, but which have through every stage retained some trace of the character derived from their founders." He deemed it a rare privilege to live at the beginnings of national life, and have a hand in shaping its destinies. He knew that in the Old Country, other things besides freedom had broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent. Here he felt we were young, our institutions plastic, and much might be done to shape and guide national life to finer forms and better issues than had yet been reached in older lands.

He loved to preach the Gospel. He had faith in its efficacy. It made him the hopeful man he was. He could never despair of even the worst, seeing that the blood of Jesus, God's Son, had been shed to atone for sin, and His risen and glorified manhood, with its garnered experience of earthly toil and temptation, and pain and sorrow, was now on the throne of the universe. He held his Presbyterianism in subordination to the Gospel, deeming it in accordance with the Word of God, fitted to give expression to the rights of the Christian people, and to furnish effective means of bringing the unsearchable riches of Christ to bear on the impoverished hearts and lives of all. He regarded the Presbyterian Church as a regiment in that consecrated host which no man can number. It has its own blue banner, its own uniform, its form of drill and discipline, its methods of carrying on the great warfare against evil and bringing the world into subjection to Christ. His experience and wide reading in Church History convinced him that the Presbyterian Church had been honoured of God to do a noble work in the Old World and the New. But he never dreamt of unchurching others because, forsooth, their banner was different in shape or colour from his, or because the kind of weapons they used, or their mode of handling these, did not meet with his approval. The one great end was to get human souls-in the name of Jesus Christ, and through the power of the Holy Spirit -into the death grapple with sin. He was jubilant then, for he well knew on which side the victory would lie.

His many and valuable services in the cause of education had the same intent: knowledge he insisted was the handmaid of religion, and ought to know her place; "she is the second, not the first." The learning of the schools was but a will-o'-the-wisp, and life an utter failure apart from the wisdom that is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy. By his wide-spread activities in visiting the sick, in relieving the destitute, in comforting the bereaved, in shedding the light of kindly sympathy into despairing hearts and darkened homes, in lifting the fallen and luring them into the paths of virtue, he was but seeking to bring the manifold grace of God to bear on the varied needs of humanity. The spring of his tireless philanthropy was in the Gospel. The love of Christ constrained him; his highest claim to reverence and love lies in the fact that he was a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. He yielded himself in free and joyful surrender to do the will of Christ. It must have seemed sometimes a hopeless task to do all the work that was laid to his hand. How was he, with his few loaves and fishes, to feed such a multitude ? He never wasted time or courted failure by idle questioning ; he just set about doing what he could, giving what he had, and his resources increased, and became wonderfully adequate to meet the increasing demands that were made upon him.

Because of his faith in Christ he had faith also in the possibilities of human nature ransomed by Him. He did not stand aloof from his fellows in any exclusive or self-righteous mood, and coolly criticise their failings. The sneer of the cynic was never on his lips; he fostered what was best in men by trusting them to the utmost. His own deep sense of sin, and grounding in love, enabled him to apprehend with all the saints the immeasurable range of redeeming love, and clothed him with the grace of a winsome humility. He said, when nearing the end, "The prayer that seems to suit me best is just the prayer of the publican, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' The text that keeps on repeating itself to my mind is this, 'Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptation that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.' I am content now to take the lowest place in His Kingdom, and would fain creep in to kiss his feet."

He stood in every Presbyterian pulpit from the Waitaki to the Bluff, and there are reminiscences of some homely word kindly spoken, or some timely service ungrudgingly rendered in every congregation. His name is still a household word throughout the land, linked by bridal or baptism or funeral to many a fire-side. Memories of some little oddity in manner, or quaintness in speech, or outburst of emotion, are still fondly cherished. The story of how he acted at the christening, or what he said at the wedding, or how he prayed at the funeral, is still told with weeping and with laughter. His plaided form seemed always to remind one of the breezy hill-sides, the swaying pine woods, the bee-haunted heather of his native land. His sunny face, his cheery manner, his forceful talk, bore with them a kind of inspiration. Drooping spirits seemed to rally in his presence. All limpness of energy stiffened when he was by into courage and hope. He certainly was---

One who never turned his back, but marched breast forwards; Never doubted clouds would break:

Never dreamed though right was worsted wrong would triumph, Held we fall to rise, are buffeted to fight better,

Sleep to wake.

What his own congregation, what the whole Church and community owe to him is well enough known without more telling. One thing further may be said with diffidence: that towards the end of his life, as the clouds gathered around his brow, his heart was more than ever dissatisfied with the shows of devotion and the forms of philanthropy, and more wistful in its great yearning for genuine spirituality and holiness of life.

The Rev. A. P. Davidson was inducted as colleague and successor to Dr. Stuart in April, 1890, and resigned after a useful ministry in 1894. With well-marked literary attainments and a fine Christian spirit, he commended himself to a large circle by his quiet devotion to pastoral duty and his high standard of preparation for the pulpit. His resignation was greatly regretted. The traditions of the Church are being worthily sustained by the present minister, the Rev. W. Hewitson. His sympathy and tact and administrative ability are very conspicuous, and indicate a reserve of consecrated manhood to which the whole Church looks with confidence and hope.

The following are the charges in the pastorate at one time covered by Knox Church (the northern part of Dr. Burns' original town district), with Dates of Settlement, Names of Ministers, and Number of Elders, Deacons (or Managers), and Members :---

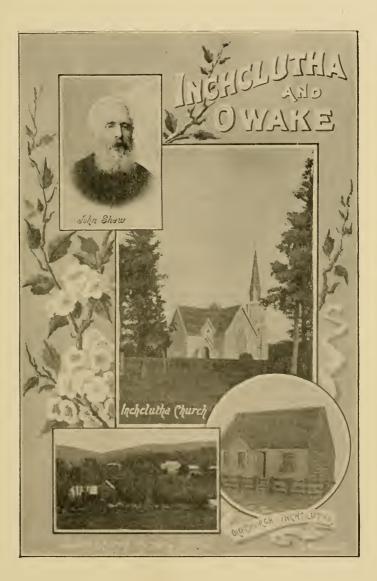
- KNOX CHURCH; 1860:-Dr. Stuart, Davidson, Hewitson.-26 E.; 24 D.; 1100 M.
- KAIKORAI; 1868:—Alves, Campbell, Blake, Sutherland.— 4 E.; 10 D.; 230 M.
- NORTH DUNEDIN; 1871 :- Dr. Copland, Gillies, Gibson Smith, McIntyre.- 8 E.; 9 D.; 268 M.
- RAVENSEOURNE ; 1879 :- Niven, Kelly, Ash.--3 E.; (12 M.); 74 M.
- NORTH-EAST VALLEY; 1884: -Borrie.-6 E.; 9 D.; 212 M.
- CHALMERS CHURCH ; 1889:-Fraser.-6 E.; 7 D.; 145 M.

CHAPTER XIX.

SOUTHWARDS TO THE BLUFF.

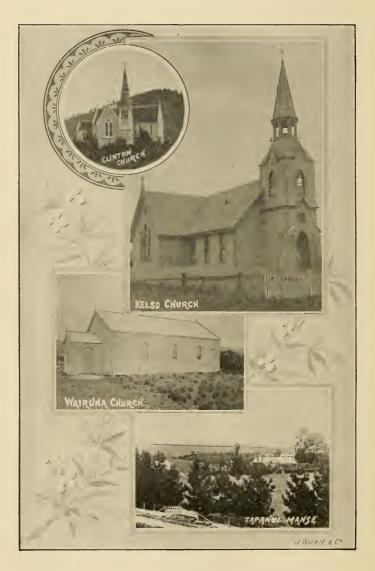
Mr. James Adam was appointed by the Provincial Government to go Home as Emigration Agent in the beginning of 1857. As he was an esteemed elder, and had rendered the Church signal service in improving the psalmody and initiating the Sustentation Fund, the Presbytery readily gave him a commission to the Free Church Assembly. He was also requested to assist the Convener of the Colonial Committee in carrying out instructions given some time before to secure three more ministers for Otago. By and by, partly as the result of Mr. Adam's able and zealous advocacy of the claims of Otago as a field for emigration, there was a larger influx of population. Districts began to fill up, and the desire for settled ministers became more clamant.

Hitherto the Waihola district had been supplied by Mr. Will, with service once a month; and the Tokomairiro district by Mr. Bannerman once in three weeks. In compliance with a memorial from these places the Presbytery in February, 1858, erected them into a separate charge. The Rev. John McNicol, who had arrived shortly before, was appointed to minister there. The arrangement after a while ceased to be satisfactory. The two districts at their own request were disjoined, and Mr. McNicol called to Waihola. His charge included Kuri Bush. The beginning of his ministry there was signalised by a memorable episode. He was





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a Celt, with the laudable practice of lighting up present day themes by references to Old Testament history. He began his sermon with a rhetorical sweep well fitted to set all the faculties of his audience on the alert. "I suppose, brethren, that 1 am the first minister that has preached here since Adam was a boy." Then there was the pause which an orator can make so effective, and the expectant eye of the preacher rested on a man in the corner of the building. The man fidgetted, felt as if something were expected of him, became red through his natural tan, and at last, thinking the Adam referred to must be someone in the district of whom he had not yet heard, exclaimed, "I don't know, sir; ask Sandy Dickson, he's an aulder settler than me."

The members of the Tokomairiro congregation were very anxious to secure a good man, and moved the Presbytery to enlist the services of three pre-eminently good men at Home, who should act with the Colonial Committee in finding a minister after their own heart. It was surely commendable to be thus zealously affected in a good cause. However, a higher hand was working better for them than they knew. The Rev. Alexander Bruce Todd arrived on the 1st of June, 1858. He had been a teacher in St. Andrews, and afterwards missionary in Jamaica. Before coming to Otago he had been labouring with much acceptance in connection with the Free Church at Cowdenbeath, in Fifeshire. He was cordially recommended by the Colonial Committee of the Free Church, and came out, as their letter ran, " with the view of being appointed to any of the vacant stations within the bounds that may appear to the Presbytery most suitable." At a congregational meeting held in Tokomairiro on the 14th of June, it was unanimously agreed to invite him to be their minister, and to petition the Presbytery to regard their invitation as a true call. This was done, and Mr. Todd was inducted on Sabbath, the 7th July, 1858. Mr. Bannerman presided on the occasion, and preached on the Transfiguration of Christ, from Luke 1x., 28-37. In the Divine power whereby that transfiguration was wrought, Mr. Todd began and carried on for about ten years a ministry that was highly prized by the people and fruitful of lasting good.

The next Settlement in the south was at Invercargill. This township had been surveyed in 1856. It lay about 140 miles to the south of Dunedin, at the head of the New River estuary. The earliest settlers, as a rule, walked overland from Dunedin, through a country that became almost trackless beyond the Clutha; their families and scanty plenishing being conveyed by small sailing craft along the coast. The voyage sometimes occupied several days. On more than one occasion certain articles of food, such as flour, sugar, and salt, were exhausted before the storm-bound vessels arrived with fresh supplies. The Dunedin people had a kind of pity for those who ventured as far as Invercargill. They had heard reports of ceaseless rain and boundless swamps, and deep creeks with brown water creeping sluggishly through dense and dripping bush. Strong arms, however, began to fell the forest and let in the light.

As has been seen, the place was visited at uncertain intervals by Mr. Bannerman, and on one occasion by Mr. Will. About the year 1858, the Rev. Alexander Bethune, a licentiate of the Free Church, who had been appointed first teacher in the infant community, began to hold regular services. A little store served the

purpose of a church on Sundays-chests of tea and kegs of nails being utilised as seats. Mr. Bannerman was the nearest minister; his manse was fully ninety miles away. His occasional visits, however, cheered Mr. Bethune, and encouraged the little band of worshippers. On one of his visits, in 1859, he preached for three consecutive Sabbaths at Invercargill, and made up a communion roll. The people were eager to have a minister of their own; and the Presbytery resolved to take the necessary steps to meet their wishes. A minister was sent for, and in the meantime Mr. Will was appointed to visit the place; he preached on two successive Sabbaths in the Courthouse to large congregations, and was deeply impressed with the strength of the Presbyterian Church in the district. After fulfilling an appointment of the Presbytery in the beginning of 1860, Mr. Burns reported that "he had preached seven consecutive Sabbaths at Invercargill; that he had called upon the several families there and in the Waihopai and Oreti districts; that he had made up a communion roll of 105 communicants: that he had dispensed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, when 83 communicants joined in that holy ordinance." Thus the way was prepared for the advent of the Rev. Andrew Stobo. He had been licensed by the Presbytery of Hamilton on the 23rd June, 1859, and arrived in Otago by the ship "Storm Cloud," on the 27th of April, 1860. His trials for ordination were heard and sustained in Dunedin; and Mr. Bannerman and Mr. Todd were appointed to ordain and induct him at Invercargill on the 29th of June.

These three ministers, though now weighted with forty years of honourable service, were at that time in the vigour of manhood. They foregathered at Warepa, and started on horseback. It was the depth of winter; and flooded creeks added a spice of adventure, as they rode along with little to interest them in the bleak andsodden aspect of the tenantless wastes. The halting place for the night was a shepherd's hut on Isla Station. There was only one narrow bunk available for the three. It was fixed against the kitchen wall, and on that side admitted of no extension. The mattress was but poorly stuffed with dry grass, and the boards on which it rested were open and loose. It is hardly matter for wonder, therefore, that some of the boards needed replacing during the night. Mr. Robert Mackay, a respected elder of the First Church, had also sought shelter for the night in the solitary hut. He had walked from Invercargill that day. The clay floor was the only available sleeping place for him, but with the ministers' overcoats under him he felt more secure and slept more soundly than they. The following day about noon they reached the Mataura Falls, and crossed the river on a narrow foot-bridge.

Mr. Bannerman had arranged to marry a couple at the accommodation - house kept by Mr. McGibbon. There was no indication of such an event; but after a time the bridegroom appeared. He informed them that the bride was staying with her sister at the foot of the Hokonuis, and begged of them to accompany him, and celebrate the marriage there. "How far might it be ?" "Oh, not far—about five miles along the banks of the Waimumu." The eyes and voice of the expectant bridegroom pleaded successfully, and they mounted their horses and rode behind him. The short afternoon was well nigh spent, and yet there was no sign of Cubin's station. "Surely it must be more than five miles ?" "Ah, well, it may be a little over thatperhaps seven." And still they rode on with ebbing patience and a growing suspicion that they were being duped by a desperate man. When at length they reached the place, and charged the man with deceiving them, he stoutly replied : "There are three kinds of miles in this country. There is the bullock-driver's mile, and the footman's mile, and the horseman's mile. You may have come thirteen bullock-driver's miles, or seven footman's miles; but it's not more than five horseman's miles." His wits were as nimble as the horse of that other lover was fleet when he rode from Invercargill to Dunedin, where alone a registrar's certificate could be issued at the time, and was back again within four days to be married by Mr. Bannerman. And so all the world over, love whets a man's intellect, gives wings to his energies, and justifies marriage as the primal law of human progress!

The three ministers got the marriage over as quickly as possible in the morning, and hastened away intent on reaching Invercargill that night. The 29th of June was a great day in the little community. The service was held in the Court-house, and conducted by Mr. Bannerman. The hearts of the people were moved by the simple form of ordination. Mr. Stobo knelt before his brethren, and was set apart to the work of the holy ministry by the laying on of their hands while they prayed fervently to the exalted King and Head of the Church that He would be pleased to bestow upon His servant all the equipment he needed for his high calling. Mr. Stobo began his long and useful pastorate the following Sunday. His text was Ephesians v1., 19: "Praying on my behalf that utterance may be given unto me in opening my mouth to make known with boldness the mystery of the Gospel." It was a significant choice, for no minister ever set himself with greater humility or simpleness of aim or tireless fidelity to live and work for the furtherance of the Gospel. The prayerfulness and loyalty of his people, nobly led by a succession of devoted elders, to whom for so many years he gave the best of his consecrated manhood, have, by the grace of God, so worked together that Invercargill has been for long one of the strongholds of an evangelical Presbyterianism. The outbreak of the gold-diggings delayed the erection of a church, and services continued to be held in the school until the 5th of March, 1863, when the church was opened.

It need hardly be said that Mr. Stobo had many long and wearisome journeys over the vast territory under his pastoral care. With the exception of Mr. Wohlers on the island of Ruapuke, he was the only ordained minister between the fertile plains of the Mataura and the rugged grandeur and picturesque beauty of the West Coast fiords. He, too, knew by experience what it was to lie down under cover of some sheltering bush, and after vain attempts to fall asleep, look longingly towards the east for the first glimmer of dawn. On one occasion he got entangled among the rank vegetation of a swamp in the Waianiwa district. He managed, however, ere the darkness became intense, to reach a dry bank by the edge of a bush. He had no matches to kindle a fire. He was too wet and cold to think of sleep. He helped to speed the laggard hours by listening beyond midnight to the hoarse plaint which has gained for the New Zealand ow! its familiar name of "more pork," and then noticing how in succession

the birds greeted the dawn—" one set becoming vocal long before day appeared, and sinking into silence as another set took up the song." In the morning " a slender column of smoke " rising over the bush guided him to the welcome hospitality of Mr. Powell's abode. He had been nearer shelter than he imagined.

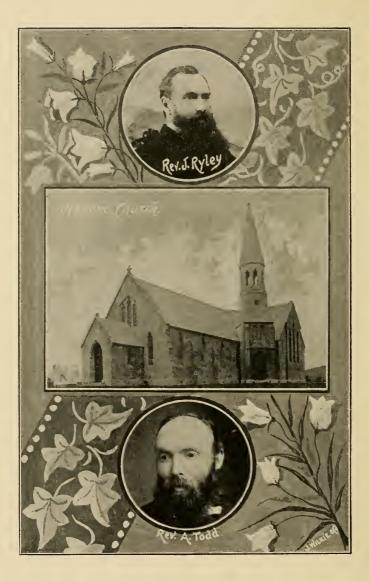
In 1880 the Rev. John Ferguson was ordained as colleague and successor to Mr. Stobo. He was to some extent a son of the Church, and all through has been racy of the soil. His fresh and vigorous preaching, his genial manner and frank greeting of all classes, especially his sympathy with the young and his efforts for their welfare, gained for him a large place in the religious life of Southland. On his call in 1893 to an historic Church in Sydney, he was succeeded by the Rev. Gibson Smith, whose thoughtful ministry is sustaining the high prestige of the First Church of Invercargill.

Riverton was the first part of the vast territory of Southland to become ripe for sanction as a separate charge. The Rev. Lachlan McGilvray was settled there in April, 1861. After a brief pastorate he was followed in April, 1864, by the Rev. James Clark, whose example of diligence in well-doing still lingers as a stimulating impulse in the memory of the lessening band to whom he ministered. The third charge was that of Woodlands, or Longbush, where the Rev. Thomas Alexander was settled in July, 1864. Besides ministering to the settlers in his own neighbourhood, he tried to visit, as best he could, the sheep and cattle stations that lay in the hundred miles stretch from Seaward Downs to Lake Wakatipu. Then came Wallacetown, and with advancing settlement, all the rest. The following are the charges in the Country south of the Mataura, with Dates of Settlement, Names of Ministers, Number of Elders and Deacons (or Managers), and Members :--

- FIRST CHURCH, INVERCARGILL; 1860:-Stobo, Ferguson, Gibson Smith.-14 E.; 28 D.; 532 M.
- RIVERTON; 1861:-McGilvray, Clark, Ross, Cameron, Neave. -6 E.; 7 D.; 145 M.
- WOODLANDS; 1864:—Alexander, Kelly, Bissett.—6 E.; 3 D. (3 M.); 121 M.
- WALLACETOWN; 1866:-Stevens, McKenzie, White.-5 E.; (14 M.); 177 M.
- WINTON; 1870:-Thomson, Baird.-5 E.; 3 D.; 85 M.
- MATAURA; 1874 :- Henry, Davidson.- 5 E.; (9 M.); 225 M.
- WYNDHAM; 1876:-Henry, Wood, Smellie.-9 E.; 13 D.; 250 M.
- ST. PAUL'S, INVERCARGILL; 1876:—Paterson, Gordon, Lindsay. —14 E.; 15 D.; 276 M.
- LIMESTONE PLAINS ; 1878:-Ewen.-5 E.; 4 D.; 106 M.
- GORE; 1884 :- Mackay, Asher. 6 E.; (9 M.); 218 M.
- TARINGATURA; 1885 :- Scorgie, Blackie.- 3 E.; (14 M.); 85 M.
- WAIKIWI; 1890:-Thornton.-2 E.; (9 M.); 112 M.
- OTAUTAU; 1892 :- Macdonald.-8 E.; (13 M.); 115 M.
- BLUFF; 1894 :- Gardiner, McLaren.-4 E.; (10 M.); 52 M.

CHURCH EXTENSION CHARGES AND MISSION STATIONS:

Dipton :—(Kyd, Brown).—3 E.; 7 D.; 63 M. Forest Hill:—(McCaw).—1 E.; 2 D.; 38 M. Oteramika:—2 E.; (8 M.); 55 M. Orepuki:—(Hain).—60 M. South Invercargill:—(Stobo).—4 E.; (5 M.); 45 M. Riversdale:—(Carter).



CHAPTER XX.

NORTHWARDS TO THE WAITAKI.

DURING the first year of his ministry, Mr. Burns went regularly once a month to hold service at Port Chalmers. The pressure of his work in Dunedin kept him from going so frequently afterwards. The country beyond the Port along the northern sea-board was very thinly peopled. A few sheep stations, miles apart, were the only links of civilisation in a long stretch of about 100 miles. There was some approach to a settled community about Waikouaiti. Mr. John Jones, an enterprising colonist from Sydney, had acquired a large tract of land from the Maoris, and was engaged in farming, whale fishing, and other kinds of trade. He employed a number of Europeans, as well as Natives. Apart from any burning desire for the eternal well-being of the people, he had shrewdness enough to see that in the lawless times that preceded the founding of the Colony, his men would be more manageable and trustworthy if they had the fear of God before their eyes. He accordingly applied to the Wesleyan Church in Sydney for a missionary. The Rev. Mr. Watkin, who had done good work in Fiji, was sent in 1841. Mr. Jones built mission premises, and in other ways gave tangible proof of his interest in the work. In one respect, it has been said, he was disappointed. As vital godliness spread, his workmen had a regard, not merely to the Divine Commandments that he deemed important, or that fell in with his notions of expediency, but to every one of the

Ten. Consequently they refused to work on the Sabbath day. This was, no doubt, annoying when big whales that could easily have been captured were seen tumbling about the bay in a calm sea, and no good man could be coaxed or bullied into launching a boat or handling a harpoon, because, forsooth, it was the Sabbath! Mr. Watkin was succeeded by Mr. Creed and others, who served the Lord faithfully, and preached alike to white people and Maoris. With that exception the whole northern district was unsupplied with religious ordinances.

The Presbytery appointed Mr. Bannerman and Mr. McGlashan to visit as much of the district as possible. They carried out their mission with diligence, and were able to report in March, 1855. They had a most interesting tale to tell of travel over the well nigh trackless country that lay in diversified beauty, as yet untouched by the hand of man; of baptism administered here and there; of services held at Waikouaiti on two consecutive Sundays; of frequent addresses given on the week evenings, whereever two or three could be gathered together; and of pastoral visits to the homes of the people. They spoke highly of the warm hospitality everywhere meted out to them, of the cheerful readiness of the people to meet for public worship, of their strong desire for regular visits from a settled minister, and their willingness to contribute liberally towards his support. They carried back with them an earnest of the people's generosity in the form of a subscription list promising a sum of f_{130} to the Sustentation Fund. Mr. Jones had shown great interest in the settlement of a minister, and with characteristic bounty had guaranteed sites for Church and Manse, £200 towards the erection of the buildings,

and $\pounds 50$ a year to the Sustentation Fund. About the necessity for stated ordinances, therefore, the deputies had no doubt. They were equally convinced that the people would not be lacking in support of a worthy man, nor slow in profiting by his ministrations. The Presbytery at once agreed to send Home for a man, and in doing so were careful to specify the extent of the district, and the kind of work that was needed.

About this time, Mr. Bannerman held a Communion service at Port Chalmers amid somewhat novel surroundings. It took place aboard the brig "Thomas and Henry," commanded by Captain William Thomson. On the following morning, the Captain and his crew presented Mr. Bannerman with a copy of "The Life of Dr. Chalmers," suitably inscribed, as a memento of the interesting service. The entire proceeding throws a favourable light alike on Captain and crew. It shows how rank can be used by a Christian man to commend the Gospel, and win a homage that mere authority is powerless to enforce. The presentation was also characteristic of one who has continued, during the long interval that has witnessed so many changes, a loyal office-bearer of the Church, adorning its doctrines by a thoroughly consistent and calmly diffusive piety.

In 1856, a deputation from the Port appeared before the Presbytery—asking that the district might be raised to the level of a preaching station, with office-bearers of its own, under the Moderatorship of Mr. Burns. This request was readily granted; and, in due course, two elders and four deacons were chosen and ordained. The elders were Messrs. Hugh McDermid and Colin Allan; the deacons, Captain Thomson and Mr. John Thomson (for the Port), and Messrs. James Seaton and Neil Bell (for Portobello). Mr. Burns, in overtaking his work at the Port, was wont to go on Saturday, visit the people in the afternoon, and hold service on Sunday. The little church was not yet seated, and the worshippers sat on planks supported by boxes. The service was taken, during Mr. Burns' absence, by Mr. Colin Allan. He had been an elder in the Free Church at Ratho, was one of the teachers sent out by the Agent of the Provincial Government, and at once threw himself into Christian work. His services were attended not only by the Presbyterians, but also by the Wesleyans and others.

This transition stage passed away as population went on increasing. At a meeting of Presbytery in March, 1858, several reasons were urged why the Port should be disjoined from Dunedin, and formed into a separate charge. In the first place, there was a large and growing number of settlers on both sides of the harbour, eager to have a minister of their own; besides, Port Chalmers was a town, had already a commodious place of worship and a staff of office-bearers; and, further, the services of a minister might be a great boon to the crews of the ships that visited the Port from time to time. The Presbytery most cordially agreed to sanction the district under the designation of "The Church of Port Chalmers and the North."

Tidings by this time had come of the appointment by the Colonial Committee of the Rev. William Johnstone. The Port people urged the necessities of their case as constituting a first claim on his services. As their wishes were in harmony with the terms of Mr. Johnstone's appointment, the matter was settled in a way that was eminently satisfactory to all concerned. After a distinguished career as an Arts student in Aberdeen, Mr. Johnstone had passed through the ordinary Theological course partly at Aberdeen and partly at Edinburgh. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and arrived in Otago in the beginning of May, 1858. His induction took place on the 23rd of June. Mr. Burns preached from Matthew xx., 30. Mr. Johnstone's pastorate was supposed to cover the whole territory lying along the east coast, between the further shores of the Peninsula and the Waitaki. In the early part of his ministry he preached at places on the side of the harbour opposite Port Chalmers on alternate Sundays. He was no boatman, but the people willingly pulled over to the Port to take him to service, and then rowed him back again. They had some narrow escapes from drowning in consequence of the treacherous winds in that part of the harbour. Many a time they might have excused themselves from venturing across for the minister, but they had a real appetite for things of the Spirit; and their craving for the fortnightly service overcame all dread of the stormy passage. Mr. Johnstone testified that "they were fearless fellows and daring boatmen, those early settlers of the Peninsula."

On the first visit to the extreme north of his district, Mr. Johnstone was accompanied by Mr. Will. The country that lay beyond the Horse Range differed in many respects from the southern parts of the Province. The climate was drier. There was little bush. The softly-rounded hills, with their white limestone crags, were covered for the most part with yellow tussock and here and there with prickly matagourie. Further north, the rolling downs swept into the great plain through which the Waitaki, fresh from its snow-fed sources among the mountains, rushed over its wide gravelly

channel to the blue sea. The air was exhiliarating, and as the two went along there was ample room for speculating as to the future of the unpeopled wastes. One of them preached at Filleul's station in the Papakaio Plain: the other in McGlashan's woolshed at Otepopo. Oamaru was not as yet a place of much importance. The first hut had been built there about five years before. It was of the common wattle-and-daub type. Clay was plentiful, but the only available timber for posts was the ti-tree. The roof was thatched with native reeds. It was a humble beginning of the present town, with its spacious buildings of white stone. The ministers were impressed with the spiritual necessities of the widely-scattered families, and it was agreed that Mr. Johnstone should pay quarterly visits to Blueskin, Hawksbury, Goodwood, Otepopo, and Oamaru.

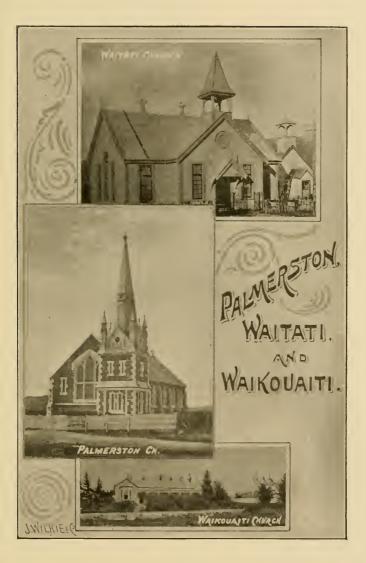
He was always welcome to the homes of the people. They gathered willingly together to hear the Gospel preached in barn or woolshed, or in the best room of a public-house. The shearing season, when the woolsheds were steaming with the heated breath of panting sheep and toiling men, and resounding with the hum of talk and the sharp click of many shears, furnished a splendid opportunity, when the day's work was over, of getting at men who were for most of the year beyond the reach of Christian ordinances. It must have been at shearing time that Mr. Johnstone came across a band of men seated round a beer cask, regaling themselves with its contents. He spoke in his simple manly way to them, and was sufficiently long there to have a very distinct image of them stamped on his memory. He came back about the same time the year following, and found the same group very much in the same attitude around—the

same cask? It seemed for a brief instant as if he had been suddenly set down in a kind of Lotos-eaters' land, "where all things always seemed the same," and in a frolicsome mood he could not help asking the men if they had been sitting there all the year!

During one of his visits to the north in 1860, he was accompanied by Dr. Stuart, who stayed behind to preach at Otepopo, while Mr. Johnstone went on to Oamaru. It was the first time a service had been held there. There was no church, no pews for the people, no pulpit for the minister. He stood at the end of the woolshed, his whole outward manhood visible. No man could better afford to do this than Mr. Johnstone, for from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot there was not the slighest trace of professional affectation or pretence, nothing but quiet naturalness and sincerity. The people stood leaning on bales of wool, or sat in more or less graceful attitudes a-top of them. There were between 20 and 30 present, and they constituted the bulk of the population. Dr. Stuart had his full share of visiting these outlying places. After returning from another visit in 1862, he reported "that he had visited Hawksbury, Goodwood, and Oamaru, dispensing at each the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there having been at Hawksbury 50 communicants, at Goodwood 30, and at Oamaru 40." The Episcopalians in Oamaru generously lent their Cummunion cups, and also gave up their ordinary meeting in order that the entire church-going people might have an opportunity of being present at the Presbyterian service. A like Christian spirit was manifested at the other places. The Rev. Mr. Fenton, first curate of Waikouaiti, "readily gave the use of his church, provided the Communion elements, was a worshipper on the occasion, and hospitably entertained the preacher and his companion, Mr. Hepburn."

Previous to this, those who had the interest of the district at heart had begun to draw together and move in the direction of procuring a minister for themselves. Representatives from Oamaru, Otepopo, and Hampden met in 1863, and agreed to petition the Presbytery for sanction as a separate charge, guaranteeing subscriptions from the various places to the amount of f_{300} . The Presbytery heartily agreed to the request, and sent several available preachers to supply. One of these has still a very vivid recollection of being cast adrift from the steamer Geelong on the shingly beach about 3 o'clock on a winter morning, and having to wait several weary hours until he found lodgment in a hotel. Walking back to Dunedin, he well nigh stuck on the hilly road that ran through the bush to the south of Blueskin. It had been churned into mud almost knee-deep by bullock teams. When he got, as he imagined, out of the mud, he took off his boots and socks by the side of a creek, and washed them and the legs of his trousers as well. What was his chagrin to find, after all his pains, that he had still another mile or two of wading ere he reached solid footing ! After hearing several candidates, the people made choice of Charles Connor, and on the 1st November, 1863, he was ordained, by the commission of Presbytery*, to the pastoral charge of a district extending from Hampden to the most distant shepherd's hut in the upper Waitaki. Over this wide territory he scampered on horseback,

^{*} Two commissions had been appointed—one to ordain or induct all ministers south of the Taieri River; another for the same work north of that river.





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LATE REV. JAMES CLARK.

once or twice going as far as Cromwell through the Lindis Pass, sowing the seed of the kingdom in the form of spoken word and printed tract. Wherever, at sheep station or lonely hut or crowded shearing shed, he found receptive soil, he was willing to sow, and leave the reaping to others.

In course of time, as their number increased, the settlers of Otepopo became desirous of having more frequent services than once in three weeks. A session had been formed in the beginning of 1864, consisting of Messrs. James Oliver, John Campbell, and Thomas Robertson. They were able to voice the wishes of the people, and in response to their appeal Mr. John Ryley was appointed to labour amongst them as a Home missionary. He carried on his studies at the same time, under the superintendence of the Presbytery. He had not completed these when the place was sanctioned in 1865; but his ministrations were so highly prized by the people, that they gladly waited on until he could be ordained as their pastor. His ordination took place on the 20th March, 1867.

Meanwhile the district of Waikouaiti had been attracting settlers. A charge was made there, embracing Hawksbury and Goodwood. On the 16th of August, 1863, the Rev. John Christie was ordained to be its pastor. His first session consisted of four elders— Messrs. William Mill and Donald Malloch for Hawksbury, and Messrs. T. B. Neilson and John Craig for Goodwood. For about two years that arrangement continued; then the balance of population in the northern part of the district began to incline towards Shag Valley, and Goodwood became merged in Palmerston. Mr. Christie continued to conduct services at that place, as well as Hawksbury, for four or five years longer. At length it became necessary to divide the district. Mr. Christie drew southward to Waikouaiti, and Palmerston became a separate charge.

The following are the Charges in the district at one time covered by the Pastorate of "Port Chalmers and the North," under Mr. Johnstone, with Dates of Settlement, Names of Ministers, Number of Elders, Deacons (or Managers), and Members :—

PORT CHALMERS; 1858:-Johnstone, Ryley, Adamson, Tennent. -12 E.; (9 M.); 273 M. WAIKOUAITI; 1863:-Christie.-6 E.; (12 M); 114 M. OAMARU (ST. PAUL'S); 1863:--Connor, Todd, Milne.-7 E.; (14 M.); 350 M. OTEPOPO; 1867 :- Ryley, Lindsay, Wright, Thomson.- 8 E.; (16 M.); 210 M. NORTH-EAST HARBOUR; 1868:-Greig.-6 E.; 8 D.; 157 M. PALMERSTON; 1872 :- Clark, Clarke.- 6 E.; 9 D.; 167 M. PAPAKAIO; 1875:-Stevens.-3 E.: (9 M.); 129 M. BLUESKIN; 1876:-Finlayson.-5 E.; (11 M.) 137 M. WAIAREKA; 1877 :- Cameron, Will, Standring.-2 E.; (12 M.); 106 M. UPPER WAITAKI; 1882:-Hay.-5 E.; (12 M.); 133 M. COLUMBA (OAMARU); 1882 :-- Dr. MacGregor, Wright.-7 E.; (12 M.); 131 M. HAMPDEN; 1884:-Todd, Nicol.-2 E.; (6 M.); 84 M. MISSION STATIONS : MACRAES, and KUROW.

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CHAPTER XXI.

OFF TO THE DIGGINGS.

It had been known, for several years, that there was gold to be found in several parts of the Province. Indeed it could be got almost anywhere, but not in payable quantities. In 1851, some fine gold was washed from sand at Goodwood. In 1856, the gravel of the Mataura near Tuturau was proved to be auriferous. Mr. Garvie, the Assistant Surveyor, reported in 1858 that he had found, on the banks of the Clutha, Manuherika, Pomahaka, Tuapeka, and Waitahuna Rivers, gold in sufficient quantities to warrant the belief that the ground could be profitably worked if suitable appliances were used. There did not seem just then to be any great desire, on the part of the authorities, to follow up these traces. They perhaps agreed with the Editor of the Witness in those early days when he wrote :---" We are not of the number of those who look upon the discovery of gold as the greatest of blessings." It was also sagely remarked at the time that flour was more necessary than gold, and might be more profitable. However, the tides do not rise or fall at man's behest. The depression of trade, and the departure of a number of people to the reported goldfields in Nelson, led the Provincial Government to offer a reward of $f_{.500}$ for the discovery of a payable goldfield.

Great hopes were excited by the accidental discovery of gold in March, 1861, by a party of road-makers at the Lindis. The field proved to be very limited, and

was soon exhausted. The offered reward spurred the energies of diggers whose experience had been won on the fields of California and Victoria, and set them fossicking in likely places. One of these, called Gabriel Read, was fortunate in lighting upon what proved to be a rich alluvial deposit in the bed of the Tuapeka River. At a place where sheep and cattle were wont to cross the stream, the banks were worn away and the underlying gravel exposed. There, " for ten hours' work, with pan and butcher's knife, I was enabled to collect seven ounces of gold." So wrote Mr. Read to Major Richardson, the Superintendent of the Province, on the 4th of June, 1861. A slight attempt had been made to keep the discovery quiet for a time. A settler in Tokomairiro had received a letter from Read, telling him of the bright prospect, and urging him to hasten away quietly, and bring a dray-load of flour with him. The news, however, got abroad, and soon the gold fever spread, and "Off to the diggings " was the universal cry.

Travellers on foot with heavy swags, drays laden with tents and picks and shovels and tin basins and billies, and stores of all kinds, surged along in an almost continuous stream through the Tokomairiro Plain and over the winding track to Gabriel's Gully. Everything else was thrust aside in the eager thirst for gold. The one engrossing desire blotted out class distinctions, and brought all sorts and conditions of men to the same level. For a time all were diggers. Three young fellows of different occupations, but entirely at one in their impatience of round-about ways to fortune, started to cross in a straight line the broken country that lay between Tokomairiro and the diggings. The directions they received were vague enough. They were assured if they held on in a certain line, they could reach a shepherd's hut about midday; from that point they could easily reach their destination by night-fall. They scrambled up steep hill-sides, through manuka scrub and rank fern; they stumbled or rolled to the bottom of deep gullies, and then had to burrow their way through tutu bushes and matted "lawyers." They roused many a wild pig from its solitary lair, and set droves of them, that were greedily ploughing up the tough soil for fern roots, scampering and grunting over the rough ground. But no hut was seen. Night closed around them, with threatening skies; and they had nothing for cover but a light plaid. They stretched it by the four corners to manuka saplings, and crept under it for shelter. A gust of wind sent it flying; and they had simply to sit and wait until the long night hours passed by. In the grey dawn, they hastened across the trackless ridges, through tussock and flax and fern. They reached the lower part of Gabriel's Gully as it was getting dark, and found that their companions, who had gone with the drays by the usual road, had arrived some hours before. And so they learned-what most young Colonists need to learn-that "Raw haste is half sister to delay."

Tent life during that severe winter of frost and snow was, indeed, a novelty to most of the diggers. A carpeting of manuka scrub was put down on the natural soil, which formed the floor of the tent; above that, to cover its asperities, a layer of fern was spread : then a blanket was stretched over all—and that was your bed. It was comfortable enough until the light twigs and sprays became dry and brittle, and broke away, leaving only the hard stalks of the fern, and the rough stems of the manuka. Then it became a fine art for the tired digger to adjust himself to the inequalities of his lot. In the morning he not unfrequently woke up, during the months of winter, to find the rime lying white on his frozen coverlet, and his strong knee boots needing to be thawed before he could step into them and equip himself for the day's work. But what of all that, when he returned from his claim in the evening with several ounces of gold to add to his rapidly increasing store.

Not one Sabbath was allowed to pass on the new goldfield without opportunity being given to all comers to meet together for public worship. Mr. John L. Gillies, who was an elder in the Tokomairiro congregation, and, along with nearly everybody else in the plain, had gone to the diggings, conducted the service for the first two Sabbaths. On the third Sabbath Mr. Todd, who was the nearest minister, preached in the open air on a flat spur sloping down into the gully from its western side. He stood in a dray, with the great crowd ranged in front of him. Either at that time or soon after, when he was about half through his sermon, a heavy shower came on with a biting wind. Some of those who were on the outskirts of the crowd began to move away, but he managed to arrest the movement by reminding the people that he had come a long way to deliver his message, and it would only be courteous on their part to stay and listen to it. They might be sure he was as eager to get out of the rain as they.

On the 21st July, a meeting of the Tokomairiro Deacons' Court was held, at which Mr. J. L. Gillies made a statement to the following effect:—That there was a strong desire for the continuance of Gospel ordinances at Tuapeka; that he had received \pounds 50 from

Mr. Read towards the building of a church; that £10 had been collected for the same purpose at Mr. Todd's first service; and that Mr. Read and others had expressed a desire that the management of this business should be entrusted to the Tokomairiro Deacons' Court. Thereupon the Court unanimously agreed to comply with this desire, appointed Mr. Gillies treasurer of the building fund, and recommended all the office-bearers on the diggings belonging to their own and other congregations to cordially assist Mr. Gillies in his labour of love.

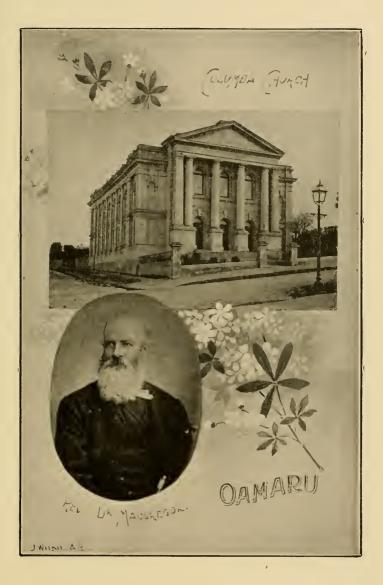
Meanwhile the Presbytery was not inactive. At a meeting held on the 18th September, 1861, the following resolution was agreed to :--" The Presbytery having had its attention called to the supply of ordinances at the Goldfields, it was resolved that the Presbytery approve of the diligence of the Moderator and Kirk Session of Tokomairiro in undertaking and conducting the arrangements for supply up to this date, and appoint that further supply be rendered as follows :-- Mr. Stobo on 22nd and 29th September; Mr. Todd on 6th and 13th October; Mr. Bannerman on 20th and 27th October; Mr. McNicol on 3rd and 10th November; Mr. Will on 17th and 24th November; Mr. Stuart on 1st and 8th December; Mr. Urie on 15th and 22nd December." This is but the first of several minutes to the same effect, showing that the Presbytery was fully alive to the religious necessities of the new goldfield, and anxious to do its best for the spiritual well-being of the diggers.

The usual practice of visiting ministers was to take two Sundays and spend the intervening week in whatever pastoral work might be laid to their hands. By these means "some were brought for the first time to a

knowledge of the truth; others were reclaimed from a life of backsliding, and not a few Christians were quickened and helped forward in their Christian course."* With part of the money in the hands of Tokomairiro Deacons' Court a large canvas church was erected. There was also a small tent provided for the accommodation of the visiting ministers. It was this tent that collapsed one stormy night when occupied by Dr. Stuart. He woke in the morning to find himself enveloped not only in folds of canvas, but also in a slight drift of powdery snow. Mr. Will had an experience in which the inbred courtesy of Highlanders for their superiors in social rankespecially ministers-was strikingly shown. He was lodging for the night in a shepherd's hut close to the diggings. There were, besides himself, three shepherds, and only two narrow bunks in a small room. The pastors of the fleecy flocks were lavish in their use of highly-flavoured tobacco. The prospect of spending the night with one of them for bed-fellow in the narrow bunk, and a kennel of dogs beneath, was not very inviting. He retired early. One after another of the shepherds came in, and still he was left in sole possession. They had agreed to squeeze themselves together as best they might in the other bunk, so as to leave him undisturbed.

In June, 1862, Mr. Bonard was appointed missionary to the Goldfields, the Presbytery undertaking to pay £80 a year on condition that the diggers supplemented that amount so as to provide an adequate salary. On his retirement about a year afterwards, he was succeeded by Mr. T. S. Forsaith, a man of considerable literary attainments and good preaching power. He carried on studies at the same time with a view to receive license.

^{*} Unpublished Lecture, by Rev. A. B. Todd.





This arrangement, however, fell through, and he withdrew from the work. There seemed about this time a likelihood of getting Duncan Matheson, the well-known evangelist, to itinerate on the Goldfields. During his mission at Home in search of preachers, Mr. Will lighted on Matheson, and tried to capture him for Otago. So far had the matter gone that a sum of \pounds 50 was sent Home for the evangelist's outfit. He ultimately decided, however, not to come. The people were anxious for a minister, and the Presbytery continued to make appointments in hope of a speedy settlement.

At this juncture Dr. James Copland arrived. He was ordained and inducted to the pastoral charge of Lawrence in May, 1865. He was the first Goldfields minister, and his experiences were for a time somewhat unique. His congregation was made up of all sorts of people. His Managing Committee at one time consisted of six Episcopalians, two Congregationalists, and four Presbyterians; but they were all of them Presbyterians in their legalty to their minister and their readiness to comply with the prescribed order of his Church. Two of his original elders-Messrs. John Stenhouse and Alexander McNicol-still survive, and are by no means weary of well-doing. Nowhere has the Church had a stauncher office-bearer, or Sunday Schools a more painstaking superintendent, or prayer meetings a more stedfast friend that Mr. Stenhouse. Like Persis, he has laboured much in the Lord.

Besides preaching morning and evening at Lawrence, Dr. Copland conducted a service at Waitahuna and Blue Spur on alternate Sabbaths. The road to Waitahuna, instead of winding along the gullies, and hugging the hill-sides for shelter as it prudently does now, was wont,

with a fine scorn of consequences, to follow the crown of the ridges. It furnished a wide outlook, but was exposed to every wind that blew. One day the minister was posting to his services at Waitahuna when a violent storm burst upon him. His horse turned its cheek from the stinging hail, and dashed into a steep gully. It did not share its rider's anxiety to get to the service, and refused to stir until the squall had passed. He was drenched by that time, and had to return home. It was almost the only time he failed in carrying out his appointments. On another occasion, his absence might well have been excused. It was after the new road had been made. His horse shied at a waggon, and got away among the tussocks. When too late to avoid it, he noticed a sludge hole right in front of him. The horse plunged into it, and he, pressing his knees firmly against the horse's neck, as he slid along stripped the bridle from its head, and just saw its ears disappearing from between his legs as he was shot over to the opposite side. The horse got out after much floundering, and managed to carry its rider to the service-with a growing conviction on his part that "a horse is a vain thing for safety."

It is said of John Wesley that he often rode seventy miles a day, and generally read as he rode, "avoiding stumbling by riding with a slack rein." The turnpike roads of "merry England" were, doubtless, rough enough in Wesley's time. Indeed, some parts of them were not only rough, but very dirty, if we are to believe the "Diverting History of John Gilpin," who rode his famous race about the time Wesley was touring England in the interests of a revived Evangelism. Of Gilpin, it has been said and sung :— And then he threw the wash about On both sides of the way: Just like unto a trundling mop, Or a wild goose at play.

But the roads of Wesley or Gilpin were not a " patch " to the roads Dr. Copland had sometimes to travel. Gold had been discovered all along the banks of the Molyneux, and in almost everyone of its tributaries; and he had, as far as possible, to carry the Gospel over a vast territory, wherever diggers had pitched their tents or built their sod-huts. He could hardly read on horseback, as Wesley did, but he thought a great deal, and was ever ready to give others the benefit of his thinking. He prepared the way for the settlement at Roxburgh, in 1868, of the Rev. Robert Telford : a scholarly man, who has continued ever since with rare fidelity to minister to settlers and migratory diggers along the valley of the Molyneux and its adjacent slopes for a distance of about forty miles. It was Dr. Copland also who arranged for the visit of the Rev. Charles Stuart Ross, that resulted in his settlement (also in 1868) on the Dunstan Flat, midway between Alexandra and Clyde. It was a kind of centre from which Mr. Ross worked with singular energy in very wide circles indeed, sweeping round by Cromwell and St. Bathans and Naseby and the Maniototo Plains.

The successors of such men as Dr. Copland may have done equally good service within narrower spheres; but the Church should never forget what she owes to the rough pioneering work of her early Goldfields ministers. Intervening events are apt to blot out the memory of these; but what ministers shrink from obtruding upon her notice, the Church should be ready gratefully to recognise and openly to acknowledge. The following are the Charges in the District at one time covered by Dr. Copland, with Dates of Settlement, Names of Ministers, Number of Elders, Deacons (or Managers), and Members:-

LAWRENCE; 1865:-Dr. Copland, Cameron, Cowie, Fraser, Jolly, Will.-6 E.; (10 M.); 154 M.

ROXBURGH; 1868:-Telford.-3 E.; (16 M.); 89 M.

WAITAHUNA; 1873 :- Skinner, Reid. - 5 E.; (15 M.); 113 M.

Тиарека West (Mission Station) :- Taylor, McCaw.-5 E.; (10 М.); 64 М.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FIRST SYNOD.

THE report of the discovery of a payable gold-field in Otago soon spread to the Australian Colonies, and a great "rush" set in. In 1860 only 69 vessels entered the harbour; the following year 256 vessels, many of them of heavy tonnage, arrived. In December, 1860, the entire population was about 12,500; at the same time the year following it had increased to over 30,000. Many of the new comers pitched their tents on the waste land about Stafford Street and Walker Street. Very soon a canvas town sprung up there. At a united meeting of office-bearers of First Church and Knox Church it was decided to provide for the spiritual necessities of that quarter by the appointment of the Rev. A. D. Glasgow. He had been a missionary in India, and arrived in Otago at a time when ministerial help was urgently needed. His charge ere long developed into St. Andrews.

It had now become painfully evident that the population was rapidly outrunning the ministries of the Church. There were thousands of people settling down in Dunedin and its suburbs, with no adequate pastoral oversight and no church accommodation. There were thousands besides pushing their way up country into previously unknown regions. For a brief interval of semi-bewilderment at the breaking up of the old order, and the half-chaotic state into which society was thrown for a time by the out-break of the gold fever, the Church seemed to be rubbing her eyes, and rousing herself to measure the greatly widened area she had to cover and the greatly more complex forces that she had to cope with. She soon recovered her breath, however, resolutely girt her energies about her, and set herself to retain the land for Christ.

The Presbytery sent Home an urgent request to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church for more ministers. It appealed to the members of the Church for a greater liberality, and took advantage of a loan of f. 500, generously offered for three years without interest, in order to pay the passages of the ministers. Meanwhile, as has been seen, it made the most of available forces by sending ministers to the Goldfields and employing whatever other assistance could be procured. In response to the appeal addressed to the Home Church the following ministers arrived, most of them early in 1863 :----The Revs. James H. McNaughton, Donald Meiklejohn, James Kirkland, John M. Allan, Thomas Alexander, Charles Connor, and John Christie. They were soon settled; Meiklejohn as successor to Mr. Glasgow in St. Andews, McNaughton in Anderson's Bay, Kirkland in Inch Clutha and Kaitangata, Allan in Waihola, Connor in Oamaru, Alexander in Long Bush, and Christie in Hawksbury and Goodwood. The needs of other places still being clamant, the Presbytery took a more decided step. It appointed Mr. Will to visit Great Britain for the purpose of pleading the claims of Otago and securing suitable ministers from the Home Churches. As the result of his mission several other ministers arrived in 1864. The chief of them were the Revs. Michael Watt,

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William Gillies (whose passage expenses were paid by his father and brother), James Clark, and John Waters. The first three were settled the same year - Watt at Green Island, Gillies at West Taieri, and Clark at Riverton as successor to Mr. McGilvray. Mr. Waters was settled early the following year at Warepa.

It was felt that the time had now fully arrived for taking another step in developing the polity of the Church. It seemed an altogether unnecessary expenditure of time and energy to bring ministers and representative elders from the extreme parts of Southland to attend meetings of Presbytery in Dunedin. Accordingly, in June, 1864, a committee of Presbytery was appointed to consider and report as to the division of the Presbytery and the constitution of a Synod. The committee consisted of Messrs. Stuart, Meiklejohn, Todd, Kirkland, Stobo, Bannerman (Clerk), ministers; and Mr. Adam, elder; the Clerk convener. The report was presented at the following meeting in September. It recommended that the Presbytery should be divided into three Presbyteries, viz., the Dunedin Presbytery, comprehending all congregations north of the Taieri River: the Clutha Presbytery, embracing all congregations between the Taieri and the Mataura Rivers; the Southland Presbytery, including all congregations in the Province of Southland. It recommended further that the Synod should meet annually in Dunedin or such other place as might be arranged, and specified the departments of Church life and work that should be under the direct control of the Synod. The Presbytery resolved to adopt the report, and transmit it to Kirk Sessions for their consideration.

The returns from Kirk Sessions came before the Presbytery at its meeting in January, 1865. Thereupon it was finally resolved to adopt the proposals; and the first meeting of Synod was fixed for the evening of Tuesday, 16th January, 1866. The Presbytery decided that the time of its own decease should be the close of the sederunt, and appointed times of meeting for its successors. The last minute of the old Presbytery ends thus: "It was resolved to request Dr. Burns to preach the opening sermon and to conduct the opening services at the inauguration of the Synod. Dr. Burns having assented thereto, the Presbytery adjourned to meet in Synod within First Church, Dunedin, on Tuesday, the 16th January, 1866, at 6 p.m., whereof intimation having been made, the sederunt closed with prayer." And so the old Presbytery of Otago quietly breathed its last, leaving behind it, in the three new Presbyteries, a vigorous and hopeful offspring to enter on a wider and more lasting career for the good of men and the glory of God.

The three Presbyteries thrust themselves back into a kind of *simulacrum* of their former self when, as "members of the Presbytery of Otago, in virtue of their resolution of January, 1865, they met in Dunedin on 16th January, 1866, and Dr. Burns, as appointed under said resolution, after conducting Divine service and preaching from Romans 11., 28, 29, proceeded by solemn prayer to inaugurate and constitute the said members of the Presbytery of Otago as the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland." The roll of membership contained the names of 21 ministers and 10 elders. They are distributed as follows:—



Y



FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

PRESBYTERY OF DUNEDIN.

	MINISTERS.	ELDERS.	PARISH.
Rev	•. T. Burns, D.D	Mr. James Morris	First Church, Dunedin
,,	Donald M. Stuart	., john Gillies	Knox Church, Dunedin
.,	Wm. Will	,, Thomas Cuddie	East Taieri
	Wm. Johnstone	Capt. Wm. Thomson	Port Chalmers
۰,	J. H. McNaughton	Mr. J. Samuels	Anderson's Bay
• 1	D. Meiklejohn	" J. Souness	St. Andrew's, Dunedin
	J. Christie	" T. B. Neilson	Waikouaiti
	Charles Connor	· · · · · ·	Oamaru
	Michael Watt	., Wm. Martin	Green Island
	Wm. Gillies	, Alex. Rennie	West Taieri.

PRESBYTERY OF CLUTHA.

Rev.	Wm, Bannerman				Clutha
· · ·	A. B. Todd	Mr. Ro	beit Muri	ray	Tokomairiro
	James Urie				Tapanui
	James Kirkland				Inch Clutha
.,	J. Copland, M.D.				Lawrence
, .	John Allan				Waihola
•••	John Waters				Warepa
5.1	John McNicol	• •			

PRESBYTERY OF SOUTHLAND.

Rev.	A. H. Stobo		 	Invercargill
	James Clark		 	Riverton
	Thomas Alexander	·	 	Long Bush.

The time of the year, no doubt, rather than the distances and difficulties of travel, accounts for the comparatively small number of elders. It has been an

honourable distinction of the elders of the Church that they have been most exemplary in their attendance at Synod. They have also been ready to take their share of the Synod's work, alike in open discussion and in the often delicate and responsible deliberations of committee meetings. Nor have they shrunk from going here and there as deputies to discharge whatever duties might be entrusted to them.

It was befitting that Dr. Burns should receive the foremost place as Moderator at this new stage of the Church's organised life. He was not only the first minister, but he was well abreast of the others in scholarship, in practical sagacity, in the varied experience of a ripe manhood. He stood in precisely the same rank as his brethren, so far as permanent order and office in the Church was concerned, but they cheerfully raised him to the first place among them-primus inter pares. After thanking the Synod for putting him into the honourable office of Moderator, he expressed his gratitude to God for sparing his life and giving him strength to take part in that day's proceedings. He then gave a rapid sketch of the rise and early progress of the Church, and afterwards proceeded in a strain of lofty reflection to bring the Synod face to face with its high calling in a new land.

"Here," he said, "we have 57,000 human beings occupying a territory in the wilderness, where eighteen years ago no human dwelling was to be seen, no voice of man broke the deep silence of the surrounding solitudes. Who is to care for the souls of these multitudes? Who is to take the responsibility of organising these hosts into a well-regulated society, a community of well-conditioned citizens, submissive

to the authority of law and respecting the rules of morality and good order? The individuals that compose this vast body are mostly all strangers to each other, born and brought up in all the variety of different localities in the Home country, all their previous habits, pursuits, and connections in life widely differing from each other. Who is to compress the heterogeneous elements of this unshapely mass of living, intellectual, and impassioned activity into a compact, well-arranged, smooth-working social brotherhood, so that the inhabitants of Otago shall present to the world a goodly section of the great human family, prosecuting the great ends of civilised life, and, far above everything else, manifesting uniformly and at all times an unswerving regard for the interests of religion and the kingdom of Christ? To whom are we to look for the carrying out of a work like this? There is only one answer to such a question. Under God we must look to the ministry and office-bearers in the Church, as the agents in prosecuting this great and most indispensable work." He is ready enough to give its due place to timely legislation, and all the humanising influences of civilised society; but he firmly insists that only the spiritual forces, which the Church represents and brings to bear on the inner life, can move men to the chief end of their existence and further God's kingdom in the world. "Let it be our part then, fathers and brethren," he urges, "through the grace of God, fully to realise to our own hearts the grandeur of that work to which in God's providence we have been called in these the utmost ends of the earth."

Next to the Moderator's address, there are three things noteworthy in the proceedings of the Synod. These have run through the whole subsequent life of the Church, and helped to mould it to its present form. They are-1st. The appointment of a College Committee, to consider and report as to the best method of encouraging young men to give themselves to the work of the ministry, and of securing for them a thorough literary and theological equipment. 2nd. The desirability of working the Sustentation Fund as effectively as possible, and of aiming at an equal dividend of f_{250} a year, was unanimously affirmed. 3rd. The appointment of a Church Extension Committee to arrange with Presbyteries as to the employment of probationers, and the giving of supply to preaching stations. These three things-the training, the maintenance, and the extension of a Christian ministry-were surely meet subjects to occupy the attention of the first Synod of a Church that, in the providence of God, had been called to cover a fast-filling territory with the ordinances of grace. Men who are under the guidance of the Spirit often build better than they know; and, though there be much deafening noise and blinding dust during the process of building, the completed structure is fair to look upon. "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eves."

The following are the Presbyteries that now constitute the Synod, with the date of their institution and the number of sanctioned charges in each:—

RESBYTERY	OF	Dunedin -	1865,	22	s.c.	
,,	,,,	Clutha	1865,	ΙI	s.c.)	One Church Exten-
,,						
,,			1872,			each of these
,,		Dunstan	1881,			Preshyteries
17	,,	MATAURA	1890,	9	s.c.,	1 1000 9 101100

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CHAPTER XXIII.

INLAND TO THE MOUNTAINS AND LAKES.

In the early days of European Christianity, the Church sent forth her evangelists along the Roman roads in the track of conquering armies. But she was even more eager to win subjects for Christ than Roman generals were to conquer territory for their Imperial masters; and so the Christian cross was carried further than the Roman eagles ever flew. Of course, the Church here could never outrun human enterprise, for she sought human souls as her guerdon, and not material wealth. Wherever men rushed in their search for gold, however inaccessible the places might seem to be, thither the Church's messengers followed them.

The entrance of the Rev. Donald Ross on his future pastorate—among the rugged mountains whose peaks, towering to a height of about 8000 feet, stand like mighty sentinels to guard the beauties of Lake Wakatipu—was not fitted to beget bright hopes. He had crossed the Dunstan flat with its waving tussocks and whirling dust clouds. He had passed the wild gorge between Clyde and Cromwell, through which the Molyneux pours its broken flood. He had gazed with awe upon the grim walls of splintered crags that rose on either hand, leaving only a thread of sky overhead. He had seen the green waters of the Clutha mingling with the turbid volume of the Kawarau. He had zig-zagged through other gorges even more rugged and awesome, like gigantic portals furnishing reluctant entrance to a weird land with—

> Rocks, crags, and mounds confusedly hurled The fragments of an earlier world.

As the coach drew near Arrowtown, he "saw some objects, almost like spiders on a wall, climbing up the face of a very steep hill." "What is that?" he asked a fellow-passenger. "Oh, that is a pack-horse and a man going up to the mine at Bracken's Gully. And that is where you will have to ride if you are to be here as minister." He had to cross the Shotover, which was high in flood. The coachman offered him one of the horses to ride across. He was glad afterwards that he did not accept the offer; for the coachman essaying to cross on horseback, notwithstanding his firm seat, was carried away by the strong current, and nearly drowned.

He did ride up that steep hill-side not many days after, and only managed to keep the horse under him by clinging tenaciously to its mane. He got near to the place where he had gone to hold a meeting, but there was no sign of any human abode. There were abandoned shafts that had been sunk by the miners in their search for gold all around. Darkness came on. A few feet, this way or that, and he might fall into one of those deep narrow holes. To stand still and coo-ee seemed his only hope of getting to a place of safety. In response to his coo-eeing, a man appeared with a light, and guided him to the tent where the service was to be held. He had a motley band of worshippers. There were twentyeight present, belonging to eight different countries, and speaking as many different languages. Their open faces, their frank manner, their genial welcome, above all their

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enger and expectant attitude, were like a cordial to the heart of the preacher, and stimulated him to fervent utterance. And though, owing to the want of suitable accommodation, he had to retrace his steps down the steep track to Arrowtown, with no hope of reaching it till early morning, he did not regret his visit. He strove to carry the Gospel over mountain and plain, travelling on an average four days a week. He was often so worn out with riding, that he was glad to leave the saddle and lie down beside a bush to rest awhile. Work of such a kind would have crushed his spirit as effectually as it jaded his body had it not been made lightsome by the loyalty of his people and the hearty welcome and generous hospitality that awaited him wherever he went.

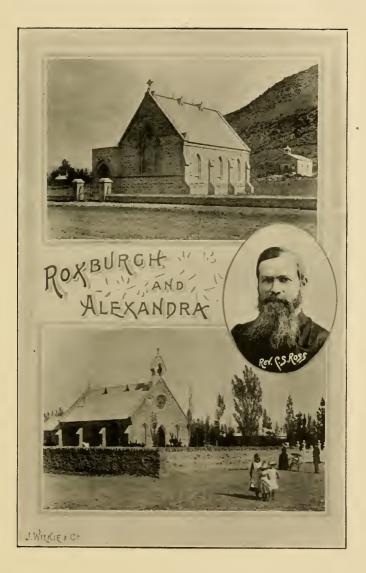
Among the rocky fastnesses of the mountainous regions of Central Otago, adventurous men pitched their tents or lived in caves of the earth, and dug gold from terrace and river bed. They risked their lives often in their eager quest for gold. A former warden has told of a party of men who worked in the bed of a little creek in one of the deep gullies under an arch of snow, the water flowing through the snowy tunnel. There has been many a tragedy on the lonely mountain sides where snow wreaths danced to the shrill piping of icy winds, and mocked the struggles of bewildered men. During the terrible winter of 1863, it was reported at the time that about thirty men perished amongst the snow. A rough stone marks the place where the remains of several of them lie in a common grave, at the foot of the Old Man Range.

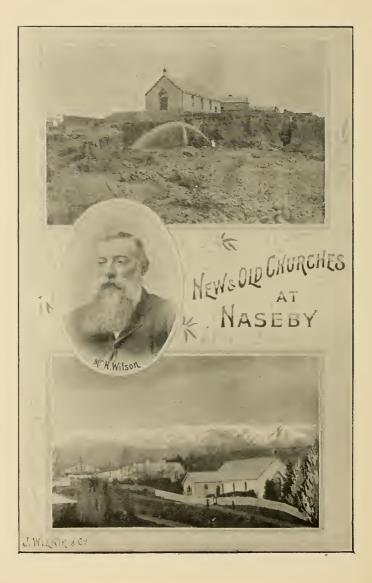
The story of Willie Nicol is still told by some old residents in the neighbourhood. He was his mother's best beloved. She lived in Victoria, but was anxious to

be with him in Otago. He had made arrangements for bringing her over, and she was waiting with eager expectancy for the letter that was to bid her start, and provide her with money for her passage and other necessary expenses by the way. He went to the nearest township one afternoon to post the letter and carry back some stores. In crossing the range to the gully where he was digging a sudden storm came on, and he lost his way amid the whirling drift of the fast falling snow. His brother went out with relays of volunteers in search of him; but for four weeks no trace of him could be seen. At last his body was found. His knees were lacerated, and the points of his fingers worn to the bone. When he could no longer walk he had evidently crawled on hands and knees over the sharp rocks and frozen snow, in the hope of deliverance. A little Testament, the gift of his mother, was found in his pocket. By and bye, poles were erected to guide men over the trackless wastes where the ground was covered with snow; but it furnishes a sad proof of human selfishness to be told that some of them were cut down, and burnt on the spot to boil billies; while others of them were carried away, to be used as ridge-poles for tents, or rafters for sod huts. Cairns of stones were afterwards built in some places.

Almost direct east from Queenstown, about half way between the valley of the Molyneux and the East Coast, lies Naseby, under the shadow of Mount Ida—" many fountained Ida." It is a land of contrasts. Classical names with a haze of romance alternate with such bare disillusioning compounds as Pigroot and Kyeburn. Almost at one glance, you can take in two finely contrasted pictures of Summer and Winter. Here on the terrace the heat is scorching, and you long for some shade—

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For now the noon-day quiet holds the hill; The grasshopper is silent in the grass; The lizard with his shadow on the stone Rests like a shadow, and the winds are dead.

But away beyond, where the mountain rises to a height of about 6000 feet, you can hear far off the torrent calling from the cleft, and see "the streaks of virgin snow" like tresses, with their glistering crown of unbroken whiteness. To the pastoral charge of this district, the Rev. J. McCosh Smith was ordained in October, 1871.

At a meeting held last year in honour of his semijubilee, Mr. H. Wilson (one of the founders of the congregation) spoke of the advent of Mr. Smith to his new charge. "He had introduced Mr. and Mrs. Smith to their future residence. It was an elegant sod hut built in the 'mudieval' style of architecture, with a commodious drawing-room of the large dimensions of about eight feet square. Mr. Smith did not at all grumble at the accommodation provided for him in that sod hut. He seemed rather to enjoy the change."

How much need there was for a settled minister, in these outposts of civilisation in the early days, is illustrated by the case of Naseby. The Divine barrier against secularism, the Sabbath day, had been broken down. The tide of business and pleasure flowed on with hardly any pause. Before Mr. Smith's arrival, through the efforts of visiting ministers and others, there was a slight awakening of conscience. And gradually as the still small voice of God within was reinforced by the preaching of the Word, a change came. Shops were closed, and Sabbath quiet began to reign. It was invariably found in these frontier districts,

where the people had no opportunity of meeting together for common worship, that the Sabbath was not sanctified by a holy resting from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days. People engaged in business; they played at cricket or football; they wasted the Sabbath hours in purposeless visiting, or frivolous talk, or sheer animalism. God was not in all their thoughts. Man's chief end was entirely forgotten. Heaven was treated as a dream of childhood; hell as a bogey to scare fools. And so people were cut off from the enlightening and ennobling influences of the eternal world, and became mere human moles burrowing in darkness among the perishable things of earth. It was clearly seen that without the ordinances of religion human society was like the plains and hill-sides of the interior of Otago in a dry season under a rainless sky; but with these ordinances society became like the same landscape, where the tender grass springeth out of the earth, through clear shining after rain. Then the wilderness and the solitary place are glad, and the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose. It is only when rain is withheld and the thirsty soil languishes that its price is seen to be above rubies.

In the inland goldfields especially, where people were thrown together by a kind of accident and had little in common, a Christian ministry became a kind of rallying ground for earnest souls, and begat spiritual affinities, and beat back practical atheism. Very special honour should be accorded to those men—elders and deacons and members of committee—who were not afraid or ashamed to stand by the Church when it was a less popular institution than it is now. They needed to be true men, strong only in the grace which the Lord

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giveth to the humble—men such as Geisow, in Queenstown, and many others whose names are in the Book of Life.

The following are the charges on the Goldfields in the Highlands of Otago, with Dates of Settlement, Names of Ministers, Number of Elders and Deacons (or Managers), and Members :---

ALEXANDRA AND CLYDE; 1868:—Ross, Boyd, Lothian.—3 E.; (10 M.); 89 M.
QUEENSTOWN; 1869:—Ross, Paulin, Blair.—185 M.?
WAIKAIA; 1870:—Morrison, Brown, Lowe, Carter.
NASEBY; 1871;—McCosh Smith.—6 E.; (31 M.); 157 M.
CROMWELL; 1875:—Drake, Blackie, Hunter, Cumming.—3 E.; (11 M.); 64 M.
LAUDER; 1884:—Henry, Gellie.—7 E.; (14 M.); 41 M.
HAWEA AND WANAKA:—Kerr Grant.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MISSIONS.

A LIVING Church, like every other living organism, has two functions to discharge. She has to preserve her life and propagate it in ever-widening circles. There is a struggle for existence in the spiritual as well as in the physical sphere; and its most potent and ennobling form is the struggle for the existence of others. It would have been suicidal if the Presbyterian Church had left its missionary spirit behind when it came into this new land. By doing so, it would have clearly showed that it belonged rather to the first Adam, who was a living soul, rather than to the second Adam, who is a life-giving Spirit. The Church will not easily forget the lesson taught by the venerable Dr. Erskine, in the Assembly of 1796. Some of the leaders of Moderatism had been opposing Missions to the heathen, and trying to show that, in accordance with the order of Nature, men should first be civilised—then evangelised. Dr. Erskine extended his arm towards the Moderator, and (looking at the Bible that lay before him) exclaimed---"Moderator, rax me that Bible!" Then he showed, with overwhelming effect, that the Church must be obedient to her Lord's command, and realise that she is a debtor both to Greeks and barbarians-both to the wise and to the foolish-seeing that she holds in trust for all that Gospel which is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth.

Almost from the beginning of the Settlement, collections were made for Missions. The Church had no scheme of her own, and she wisely sent her contributions to the parent Church. She was eminently catholic in her outlook. The session minutes of First Church show that she contributed to the Home Mission. the Jewish Mission, the Turkish Mission, and the Foreign Mission, of the Free Church; and that she sent money to a society that had been formed in the North Island for the purpose of printing the Bible in Maori. The Presbytery, on its formation, also directed its attention to Missions. It had long and earnest discussions as to the best methods of dealing with the Maoris. It consulted Wesleyan missionaries; it corresponded with the General and Provincial Governments about the Natives, and pressed their claims for some kind of helpful recognition. A scheme for their amelioration was ultimately devised. Its chief object was, of course, their evangelisation, but it provided also for their intellectual and industrial training. The leading spirit in the movement was the Procurator of the Church, Mr. John McGlashan. It was felt to be a work in which the whole community was interested, and an effort was made to enlist the sympathy and support of all classes. The Procurator reported in 1859 "that measures had been taken for organising a society for ameliorating the physical, moral, religious, and social condition of the Maoris and half-caste population of the province; that a public meeting had been held, where resolutions were passed instituting such a society, and adopting rules; and that there was a great probability of the object being successfully prosecuted."

The claims of the New Hebrides had also been brought under the notice of the Presbytery. A most interesting episode in connection with that mission occurred in the late fifties. Bishop Selwyn was in Dunedin addressing a public meeting in connection with his Melanesian Mission. At the close of the meeting he told the Presbyterians who were present that he was going soon to the New Hebrides, and would be glad to be the bearer of anything they might send to Messrs. Geddie and Inglis, the missionaries there. Next morning, when he was stepping into his boat to go on board the Southern Cross, a few men introduced themselves, and handed him f_{30} . He sailed north to Wellington and Auckland, and told the Presbyterians there what had been done in Dunedin. They, too, were moved to liberality, so that when he left the shores of New Zealand he had a bag containing £105 to give to the New Hebrides missionaries. They had a short while before come into the possession of the John Knox, a small schooner of 13 tons, built in Glasgow by friends of the Mission, and sent out to Sydney on the deck of a ship. The yearly expenses of sailing the schooner with a European captain and Native crew was about £100. The missionaries had no money in hand. They were getting anxious as to how their liabilities were to be met, when the Southern Cross came sailing along the coast. She hove to, and sent a boat to shore just opposite Mr. Inglis's house. When he went down to the beach he met Bishop Selwyn. After hearty greetings the bag with f_{105} was placed in his hands. The noble Bishop proved on this, as on many another occasion, to be a true messenger of God. More than once, it has been stated, he received , with heartiest goodwill a generous contribution to his own Melanesian Mission from the Presbyterians of Dunedin.

It was not, however, till the Synod of 1867 that the Church definitely committed herself to a distinct sphere of Mission enterprise. On the 9th of January of that year, the Synod resolved to support a missionary on the New Hebrides, and appointed an annual contribution to be made for that purpose by all the congregations. A Mission Committee was also formed to carry out the resolution of the Synod, with Dr. Copland as Convener. There was a strong desire to secure, if possible, the services of Mr. Inglis or Mr. Copeland. Both of them were well known to the Church, and had-by their record of work on the Islands, and by their graphic addresses—aroused much interest in connection with the New Hebrides. It was supposed that the Reformed Presbyterian Church (by whom they had been sent forth) might be willing to yield to the Church of Otago the privilege of maintaining one or other of them. However, that Church clave to her missionaries, but she generously did her best to meet the wishes of the Synod by the appointment of the Rev. Peter Milne in 1868. That same year it was resolved to apply, through Dr. Duff, for a missionary to the Maoris; and also, in view of the large influx of Chinese, to secure an evangelist for Mission work among them. It may be said, therefore, that from this Synod there burst forth a stream of Mission enterprise-which parted into three branches directed towards the Maoris, the New Hebrideans, the Chinese.

The Rev. Alexander Blake was sent by Dr. Duff, in response to the Church's application, to labour among the Maoris. He arrived at the close of 1868. He took up his abode at the Heads, where the largest number of Maoris could be reached. After acquiring the language, he paid periodical visits to Waikouaiti, Moeraki, Taieri, and other places where a few Maoris were to be found. In taking over, with its hearty goodwill, the work of the Bremen Society, a sum of $f_{1,50}$ was paid to the widow of Mr. Riemenschneider, the last agent of the Society, as compensation for the improvements he had made on the manse at the Heads. Besides this, a further sum of about $£_{38}$ was expended in repairing the manse and church. After four years' honourable service Mr. Blake retired from the work with the consent of the Synod, and took rank as a minister of the Church. At the request of Taiaroa, the Maori chief, the Synod agreed to give Patoromo-a Christian native who had assisted Mr. Blake, and also the missionaries of the Wesleyan Church, and the Bremen Society for the previous 15 years-a sum of £10, provided the Natives raised an equal amount. This was done. Arrangements were also made for allowing Mr. Blake to visit the Heads once a month, and exercise a general supervision over the work carried on by Patoromo. It was felt, however, that whilst this arrangement covered the necessities of the case so far as the Maoris at the Heads were concerned, there was still a call to do something more than neighbouring ministers could undertake in bringing the means of grace within the reach of other Natives along the coast. Accordingly, the Mission Committee was empowered to secure another missionary. This, however, they were just then unable to do.

Meanwhile Bishop Nevill, ignoring the fact that the Presbyterian Church, through arrangements with the Bremen Society, and by the payment of the sums already mentioned, had entered into honourable possession of the work and property of that historic Society at the





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Heads, appointed the Rev. Edward Ngara, one of his own clergymen, to carry on work and take possession of the Mission buildings there. His conduct affords a very striking contrast to that of Bishop Selwyn in his attitude towards the work of other Churches among Native races. He was resolute in the determination, as he put it, "that we must hold our own," but he was equally ready to accord the same privilege to others. "With reference to an island (says Murray in his narrative of 'Forty Years' Work in Polynesia') on which we had teachers at work to which he took a great fancy, he remarked to me: 'I should like very much to have it, but I will not take possession of another man's field without his consent. The Apostle Paul tells me not to do so, and I will not.'" That, surely, is a spirit that all men can admire.

> Love and meekness, Lord, Become a churchman better than ambition; Win straying souls with modesty again, Cast none away.

It is a sorry business, and would certainly not have been unearthed here, but for the fact that no repentance has been shown and no reparation made. The Church is therefore forced to conclude that the same spirit still exists. Her experiences in the past become salutary only when they keep her watchful for the future.

Mr. Milne settled in Nguna in 1870. He had great difficulties to encounter. The Labour traffic was not regulated then to the same extent as it is now, and missionaries were exposed to the unscrupulous hostility of recruiting agents. A peculiar difficulty of Mission work in all the Islands is the variety of languages. There is no trace of a literature. The missionaries have to give a literary form to the spoken languages. Notwithstanding all drawbacks, the work on most of the evangelised Islands has been very successful. Mr. Milne has a membership roll of close on 800, and a regular attendance at Sabbath services of about 2000.

Mr. Michelsen, after spending a short while with Mr. Milne, carried on work for over a year in Tongoa, and then returned to Dunedin, to be ordained in 1880. He too has, amid much affliction, done noble work. He visits several Islands, and has altogether a Communion roll of 400.

Mr. Smaill has not been so long on the Islands. He is a son of Otago, and was ordained in 1889. He has carried to his work in Epi much good sense, firmness of purpose, thoroughness of method, and fertility of resource, along with a steady glow of Christian enthusiasm. He has an attendance at regular Sabbath services of about 1700.

The missionaries' wives, by teaching sewing, and English—especially by their precept and example in the thousand and one attainments and nameless graces of a refined Christian womanhood—do very much to further the reign of Christ in these dark Islands.

The Church is in danger of forming hasty judgments in connection with the success of Mission work. Unless care is taken, the services of those whose list of converts is brief are apt to be undervalued. Who can read the letters of the late Mrs. Watt without being touched by her rare devotion? How constantly she toiled with hand and brain, how her heart yearned, how she agonised in prayer, for the conversion of the dark Tannese; and yet the merest glimmer of success was vouchsafed her. Let honour be given to those who bring back their sheaves with them; let double honour be accorded to those who continue sowing across barren furrows through long weary years, and never in this world reach an autumn with its golden fields and joyous reaping time !

In carrying on Christian work among the Chinese, the Church was faithfully served by Paul Ah Chin and the Rev. Hugh Cowie. The latter had been for a number of years a missionary in Amoy. He felt the difficulty of acquiring the Cantonese dialect almost insurmountable. The Synod resolved, after his retirement, to offer inducements to one of her younger members or students to proceed to Canton, and secure the needed equipment there. Mr. Alexander Don, who was teaching in the Port Chalmers Grammar School, gave himself heartily to this service. After a sojourn of about two years in Canton, he returned to Otago, and began to evangelise the handfuls of Chinese that are sprinkled all over the Province. Very few are his equals in staying power. Only a calm and stedfast faith in Jesus Christ and His Gospel as the power of God unto salvation, could have nourished in him amid his singularly difficult work a zeal that never tires, a courage that never falters, a hopefulness that is always radiant.

A singularly beautiful action in connection with Missions is associated with a son of the Church. It has enshrined his memory in the affection of all who know of it, and made his brief score of years more fruitful of good than many another's three-score and ten. Mr. Robert Borrie, a promising lad who had just been elected to the office of deacon, had gone during a heavy flood in West Taieri to rescue some neighbours who were supposed to be in danger. Horse and rider were swept by the current into a deep lagoon and drowned. His life was insured for \pounds_{500} . A few months before his death he had by will devised the whole amount to the Mission Funds of the Church, without reservation and without condition.

CHAPTER XXV.

PUBLICATIONS.

A CHURCH can hardly be regarded in these days as fully equipped for carrying on her great work of extending the Kingdom of God in the land, and keeping all her members well abreast of her schemes, without a paper of some kind. If the paper is to do good work, it must be loyal to the Church. It must faithfully represent her -be a helpful reflex of her creed, her polity, her whole life and work. In this way alone can it re-act on the Church, and minister to that esprit de corps-that denominational temper-which in its own place is a stimulus to Christian endeavour, and an enrichment to the Church universal. "He is the true cosmopolite who loves his native country best." And he, as a rule, is the most reliable Christian-the best citizen in the Commonwealth of the Redeemed-who is loyal to his own Church, when of an Evangelical type, and zealous in furthering her ministries.

But while a paper ought to be loyal to its own Church, it is equally necessary that the members of the Church should be loyal to their own paper. They ought to give it a place in their homes. They ought to read it and pay for it; and when an article strikes them as specially timeous and effective, they ought to write a very short note of thanks to the Editor. It will be a welcome cordial to him: for even Editors on their Olympian thrones get weary sometimes, and wonder how their thunder-bolts are speeding ! It is, of course, impossible that a paper can please everybody. It will seem too heavy to some; too frivolous to others. It will have too much of a literary flavour for one man; it will smack too much of religious platitude for another. Some will cry out for stories; others will crave sound doctrine that cannot be gainsaid. Who is sufficient for these things? It would be a terrible calamity if those who eat carrots were to kill the Chinese gardener, and spoil his garden, because he grows cabbages and onions and lettuce and celery to suit the tastes of his numerous customers !

The first publication that had any relation to the Presbyterian Church of Otago was The Evangelist. It was started by Dr. Copland, of Lawrence; and the first number appeared in January, 1869. It was a comparatively small venture, published once a month, and meant to bring the Gospel, in its bearings on individual family and social life, before the scattered population of the Goldfields. Though receiving no kind of official recognition, it did good service to the Church by commending her schemes to the sympathies of the people. Through its pages, articles by the Editor on "The Christian Evidences," "Socialism," &c. (afterwards issued in booklet form), first saw the light. For five years, the enterprise was fruitful in almost everything that was good, save mayhap in profit to its owner and Editor. Several friends gradually drew around the little periodical, and helped to speed its progress by a generous recognition of its merits and offers of assistance.

It was resolved to increase the size of the paper, and give it a less learned and more popular appearance. In this new form, it held on for other five years, chiefly under the pilotage of Dr. Stuart. It was exposed to

dangers amid the rocks and shoals of adverse criticism and an ebbing treasury. There are always people who imagine that they can write brilliant articles, and steep their message in such pungency of wit and radiancy of imagination as will attract many readers. *The Evangelist* had competitors of this kind, but they yielded to the stress of circumstances while it lived on.

The Synod of 1880 resolved, on the recommendation of a Committee previously appointed, to start a new monthly periodical as "the organ of the Church." It was called *The New Zealand Presbyterian*, and edited by Professor Salmond. The Editor's finest qualities were thrown with lavish hand into the paper. It proved very successful for a time, and seemed to hold out hopes of a perennial surplus of profit that would found bursaries, and support missionaries, and oil the dragging wheels of many a Christian enterprise. The Editor did his work gratuitously, and the virtues of the paper were beyond cavil; but it is not the intrinsically excellent that is always the most prosperous in this topsy-turvy world : and somehow the golden dreams were not realised.

The paper had been called "the organ of the Church," but what that meant nobody could exactly tell. It got afterwards to be known as the unofficial organ, and the vagueness of the phrase perhaps adequately expressed the looseness of the tie that bound it to any definite office in the Church. Still it was always loyal to the Church's best interests, and for the rest was quite capable of standing on its own merits. After five years the Editor was constrained to take his readers into his confidence, and reveal some secrets. "We will not," was the heroic resolution, "hide from them that we are in debt. By proper calculations of unimpeachable correctness we should have by this time a profit in hand of more than \pounds_{500} ; according to actual stern reality, we are to an amount approaching to \pounds_{100} on the wrong side !" He began to be a little tired of the business, but valiantly resolved to "resist the devil as long as possible."

After his appointment to a chair in the University, Professor Salmond resigned the editorial control of the paper in 1886, and Dr. Watt took his place. The paper was kept well up to its former level of general excellence, but other pressing duties necessitated Dr. Watt's retirement after a time from the Editor's chair. A committee of Synod undertook the work. The burden of it, however, fell on Dr. Stuart—on those broad shoulders that were ever willing to stoop to any load. Some know, and feel ashamed now to reflect, how he beckoned reluctant contributors to come to his help, and in default of their assistance, staggered on as best he could.

In 1893 the Synod agreed. on the advice of its Publications Committee, to accept the offer of Messrs. Wilkie & Co. to publish a weekly journal. This new weekly is known as the *Christian Outlook*. It is edited by Dr. Waddell, who is recognised on all hands as singularly qualified for this work. His Christian courage, that will not sell the truth to serve the hour; his wide knowledge of the best literature; his vivid style, quivering often with intense conviction; his spiritual insight and reverent devotion to the claims of Christ; his ardent sympathy with every movement in Church and State, that has for its end the well-being of the community—these and other qualities have raised his paper to the front rank of religious journalism, and





drawn tributes of praise from the most competent judges both in Britain and the Colonies. It is to be hoped that the whole Church will rally round the *Outlook*, and give it an outward success in some measure befitting its internal excellence.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THEOLOGICAL HALL.

THE Presbyterian Church, while clearly recognising that the gift of the Holy Spirit and personal piety are primary and absolutely essential qualifications for the Christian ministry, has also insisted-all through her history—on the necessity of a high standard of literary and theological culture for all aspirants to this sacred office. The Church here was desirous, as early as possible, to be independent of the Home Churches for the supply of her pulpits; and so she set herself to face the question of providing facilities for training a ministry from her own ranks. A somewhat ambitious scheme for the institution of a College was drawn up and presented to the Presbytery in 1862. It provided for a literary and theological course of study. As, however, the Provincial Government was moving in the direction of establishing a High School, the proposal to institute literary classes was allowed to drop. The Presbytery continued to prosecute the other line of action that had been sketched out. In view of Mr. Will's mission to Britain in 1863, it was at one time resolved to empower him, in conjunction with several eminent Professors and ministers at Home, "to select a suitably qualified man as Professor, to aid in training young men for the ministry in Otago, and in advancing the interests of religion and education." A salary of not less than f_{450} a year was to be guaranteed, and a further sum of f_{200} voted for passage expenses. For lack of funds, however, the whole matter had to be fallen from.

At the first meeting of Synod the desirability of encouraging young men to give themselves to the work of the holy ministry was affirmed. A College Committee was also appointed to consider and report as to the best possible method of theological training. Meantime Presbyteries were at liberty to appoint any of their members to superintend the studies of young men within their bounds, care being taken to assure the Synod that the subjects of study prescribed, and the progress made by students, were likely to result in a fairly-equipped ministry. In 1868 the College Committee expressed the very decided opinion that one of the best ways of inducing capable youths to study for the ministry would be the immediate appointment of a theological tutor or Professor. This plan seemed all the more feasible from the fact that a movement had been started by the Provincial Government to institute a University in Dunedin. The Synod, instead of devoting its educational funds to denominational ends, as it might righteously have done, showed a public spirit worthy of all praise, in agreeing to found a chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University. The selection of a Professor was entrusted to thoroughly competent men at Home, and in course of time Mr. Duncan Macgregor was appointed. The University Council secured the services of Professors in Classics and Mathematics, so that the way was open for students acquiring a good literary training before entering on a course of theology.

Ere long a sufficient income for the maintenance of a theological Professor was available from the trust funds. Applications were invited at Home for this office, and Principal Fairbairn, of Glasgow, and Professors Cairns and Rainy, of Edinburgh, were requested to select the most suitable applicant. In the meantime Dr. Stuart was appointed tutor in Church History and Historical Theology, and Dr. Watt in Hebrew and Biblical Criticism. After some delay the Selection Committee were able to announce that the Rev. William Salmond, of North Shields, had been appointed the Church's first Professor. A sum of \pounds 200 had been sent Home to be invested by the Professor in suitable books. This beginning of a theological library was enriched by the generosity of the tutors in giving up their honoraria of \pounds 100 each for the purchase of books.

The Professor brought with him a high reputation, which he worthily sustained during his term of office. Not only did he give himself loyally to the fruitful work of training the students; he also threw himself heartily into the life and work of the Church, devoting much time to the meetings of Synod, and readily giving valuable help to congregations at anniversary and other special functions. He delivered for several years in succession a course of lectures to large and appreciative audiences in Dunedin, chiefly on the Evidences of Christianity. It was a great boon to a young Church, struggling amid the raw forces of Colonial life, to have as its first Professor a man characterised by such keen mental insight and power of analysis, such intensity of moral earnestness, such catholicity and fervency of spirit, and withal such a lucidity and picturesqueness of literary style as won for his message ready access to the minds and hearts of the common people. Much more than in older lands, is it desirable here, that men of light should be heroic enough to resist ignoble temptations-

> In the hollow Lotos-land to live and lie reclined On the hills like Gods together, careless of mankind

and yield themselves to the noble work of determining the culture and tastes of the community, and of guiding its energies to worthy ends. After ten years' service in the Church, Professor Salmond was appointed to the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University.

A successor was found in the Rev. John Dunlop, of Free St. David's, Dundee. He was honoured with the degree of D.D. on his appointment as Professor. He was reputed to be a well-read theologian, thoroughly abreast of philosophical speculation, and in every way well furnished for his work. He, too, has identified himself with the life of the Church and possesses the confidence of his brethren in the ministry. It is very essential that the living Church and its Theological Hall should be thus in closest sympathy, so that sanctified scholarship may catch fire from the fervency of life, and burn with evangelical purity and power.

On the motion of one of Dr. Watt's old students, the Synod unanimously conferred upon him the title of Professor of Hebrew and Church History. Universal regret was expressed at the time that the trust funds did not warrant the Synod in disjoining Dr. Watt from his pastorate, and setting him wholly apart to the professorial work for which he is so eminently fitted.

The College Committee was able to inform the Synod of 1867 that Mr. Joseph Lang, a settler in Tokomairiro, and an office-bearer in the Church there, had bequeathed a sum of $\pounds 200$ to assist young men to study for the ministry. It was to be available on condition that the Church within five years took some step to institute a society or fund for the same purpose. This spurred the Church to activity, and the terms of

the bequest were complied with. The interest is used in providing a scholarship, open by competition to those who are beginning an Arts course, with a view to the ministry. There have been bursaries also, given by congregations and by joint action on the part of the Presbyteries.

It is greatly to be desired that some of the wealthier members of the Church, in looking about for secure and profitable ways of investing money during their life-time, or for fruitful ways of disposing of it at their death, should take this subject into serious consideration. The slender resources of students are sometimes eked out by grinding toil and frugal living; and while all that may turn out to be an excellent discipline, and secure the survival of the fittest, it may on the contrary so distract and disable a student as to lessen his power for usefulness in after life. Those who have prospered in this new land might greatly help the Church of their fathers, and earn the gratitude of posterity, by founding bursaries. They cannot obey the call to preach the Gospel themselves, but they may do something to bring into the fields of evangelism the fresh enthusiasm of youth, and open up a fountain of spiritual refreshing to a whole generation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

WHEN the New Zealand Company surrendered its charter to the Imperial Government, and ceased to have any further interest in the colonising of Otago, 22 properties had been secured by the Church; each property, as will be remembered, consisted of a town, a suburban, and a rural section, making altogether $60\frac{1}{4}$ acres. These properties were really bought with the one-eighth of the purchase money, or 5s. per acre, that was set apart, in accordance with the original "Terms of Purchase," for religious and educational uses.

An Act was passed in 1866 for the "regulation and management of the lands of the Presbyterian Church of Otago, and for the disposal of the income and revenues thereof." By that Act two funds are instituted, called the Ecclesiastical Fund and the Educational Fund. Two-thirds of the rents received from the Church property go to the Ecclesiastical Fund, and one-third to the Educational Fund. Both funds are administered by the Church Trustees or Board of Property. This Board is merely the legal hand of the Church, and must administer the funds as the regulations of the Synod direct.

These regulations may be altered by passing an interim Act embodying the proposed alteration, and sending it down to Kirk Sessions. The general destination of the funds is, however, fixed by the Act. The Ecclesiastical Fund is used for the building or repairing of churches or manses; it may also be used for endowing theological chairs in any university that may be erected in Otago. The Educational Fund is used for paying the salaries of the Professors whose chairs have been instituted by the Synod. These chairs are:—Mental and Moral Philosophy (Professor Salmond); English Language and Literature (Professor Gilray); Physical Science (Professor Shand). Each of these Professors receives \pounds 600 a year, so that the Church gives \pounds 1,800 of her revenue for purposes that have not the slightest tinge of denominationalism, but are designed for the benefit of all and sundry.

The Church might fairly enough have provided in the Act of 1866 for instituting a College of her own, in which the truths she reverences would have had an honoured place. Instead of that, she has sacrificed her own immediate interests in order that no one may be debarred from the means of culture which she has provided. She has done this for the good of the State, and it does not seem a very courteous acknowledgment of her generosity on the part of the State to banish the Bible from the primary schools, and thereby render signally ineffective for moral ends the educational system to which perforce the Church must commit her children.

Besides the general property acquired in the way that has been specified, there were three special properties given by the New Zealand Company to the Church in accordance with a clause in the "Terms of Purchase." This clause (12) provides, amongst other things, for "Sites for places of public worship and instruction" in Dunedin. The sites selected by Captain Cargill, the Agent of the Company, were :—Ist. The Manse Reserve, where the first manse was built, at the head of Jetty





street; 2nd. The College Site, where the building that served at first for church and school was erected; 3rd. The Church Hill, where the First Church and manse now stand, and where at first on the rounded hill-top, among scrub and flax, the wooden belfry was erected, and the bell hung that kind friends sent from Home for the use of the First Church.

Both the Manse Reserve and the College Site became, with the increase of population and the extension of business in Dunedin, unsuitable for their original purpose. Power was accordingly given by an Act of the Legislature (1861) to lease them, and use the rents in the spirit of the original intention. The proceeds of the Manse Reserve were justly devoted to the erection of the church and manse belonging to the First Church. The rents now available are used for the same purpose as the Ecclesiastical Fund-viz., the erection and repairing of churches and manses throughout Otago. The rents from the College Site are used for the purpose of providing accommodation for theological training and paying the stipends of the theological Professors. The Church site is used in accordance with the purpose for which it was originally set apart.

From all the evidence it seems clear that the Church has acted for the good of the whole community and in the interests of posterity, rather than her own immediate benefit in administering these funds. She might have applied them all to religious and educational uses within the lines of her own polity. She has chosen to act otherwise; and she may confidently leave her action to the verdict of those who have profited by her unselfishness.

The whole Church is indebted to the Hon. W. D. Stewart for framing and carrying through the Legislature

"The Presbyterian Church of Otago Incorporation Act, 1875." Under this Act the Church Trustees have been created a corporate body, and as such have perpetual succession. By this means the election of new trustees to fill vacancies caused by death or removal in other ways is greatly simplified; and the heavy expense connected with the cumbrous method formerly existing has been got rid of. The Act also provides for the incorporation of Deacons' Courts. Property held by a Deacons' Court, incorporated under the Act, can be administered by the corporate body using its legal title and seal, and is altogether unaffected by any change in the membership of the Court.

The Rev. William Gillies gave valuable assistance in connection with this Act. He has also made the whole Church his debtor by the toilsome research and literary pains involved in his admirable little book entitled "The Presbyterian Church Trust."

The Church was singularly favoured during a large part of her history in having, as factor of her trust estate and General Treasurer, a man of such sterling worth as the late Mr. Edmund Smith. To his high qualifications as an accountant, and his exact and thorough business habits, he united a quiet kindliness of manner and a readiness to oblige that won the esteem of every member of Synod. The office is now filled by Mr. Fred. Smith, on whom the mantle of a worthy father seems to have fallen.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

UNION.

IT is very evident that the longing which has characterised the Church of Otago, from the very beginning of her history, for union with her sister Church in the Northern parts of the Colony, is in the line of catholic Presbyterianism. In 1552, when the Council of Trent was passing its decrees against the Reformation, Archbishop Cranmer invited several of the leading Reformers in Europe to a Conference in London. He felt the need of all Protestant Churches uniting together and presenting an unbroken front to the sweeping claims and aggressive action of the Romish Church. To this invitation, Calvin replied in these memorable words that embody the very genius of Presbyterianism :--- "So far as I am concerned, if I can be of any use, I will readily pass over ten seas to effect the object in view. If the welfare of England alone were concerned, I should regard it as a sufficient reason to act thus; but at present, when our purpose is to unite the sentiments of all good and learned men and so, according to the rule of Scripture, to bring the separate Churches into oneneither labour nor trouble of any kind ought to be spared."

The union of all the Protestant Churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland was undoubtedly one of the purposes—perhaps the chief purpose—for which the Westminster Assembly was called together. This is clear, not only from the Ordinance of Parliament calling the Assembly, but also from the Solemn League and Covenant that was signed by the Lords and Commons.* The Article of the League bearing on Union runs thus :--- " That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour . . . to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising, that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us." It was the fervent desire to further such union, by their presence and advice, that moved the Scottish Commissioners to leave their homes and their work and undertake the journey to London, at a time when travelling whether on sea or land was very tedious, and involved much peril and expense. Their mission necessitated a long absence of over three years from Scotland, but they were ready for all such sacrifices in furtherance of a cause which they deemed so sacred and so pregnant with blessing to the whole realm.

It may indeed be scornfully asserted that these men wanted simply to impose on the necks of others the yoke they had fashioned for their own; that, like the Scribes and Pharisees of old, they were willing to compass sea and land to make one proselyte. That was assuredly not the case. At no stage did the small band of Scottish Commissioners show the slightest inclination to dictate to the English Parliament or its Assembly of

^{*} The roll of parchment on which the Members of the House of Commons subscribed the Solemn League has 228 names—among the rest the name of Oliver Cromwell.

Divines. They showed a spirit the very opposite of this, as is clearly seen in a letter from Henderson to Bailie, dated April 20th, 1642, fully a year before the Westminster Assembly met. "I cannot think," says that great eeclesiastical leader, "it expedient that any such thing, whether Confession of Faith, Directory for Worship, Form of Government, or Catechism, less or more, should be agreed upon and authorised by our Kirk, till we see what the Lord will do in England and Ireland, where I will wait for a reformation and uniformity with us. But this must be brought to pass by common consent. We are not to conceive that they will embrace our form. A new form must be set down for us all, and, in my opinion, some men set apart some time for that work." The Scottish Churchmen did not take their stand upon a platform of their own construction, and stubbornly refuse to unite with other, Churches, unless they were willing to accept precisely the same platform, and never dare to change it by moving a single plank or taking away the slightest splinter. They saw clearly enough that union on such a basis was hopeless.

It would have shown a startling degeneracy if this same desire for union had not appeared in connection with the Otago Settlement. In the original Institutes (Article III.) for Church and School drawn up by the Lay Association in 1847, it is provided that future ministers are to be elected " with a careful view to the formation of a Presbytery or Presbyteries in New Zealand at the earliest possible date, to be composed of ministers in connection with the Free Church of Scotland in Otago and the other Settlements in New Zealand." The Lay Association had its eye upon settlements in Port

Nicholson (Wellington), Nelson, and Auckland.* Article III. of the Institutes looked to the planting of churches there, and was meant to cover them. There cannot be the slightest doubt, in view of all the evidence, that the intention was to have one Presbyterian Church, with ministers drawn from the Free Church, for the whole of New Zealand. So far as the precise relation of the Presbyterian Churches in New Zealand to the Free Church is concerned, changes have taken place. The Otago Church receives ministers from every branch of Presbyterianism. These changes do not, however, nullify the intention of the Lay Association, nor make void Article III. of the Institutes. And as these Institutes were "to be held as part of the Terms of Purchase," it seems clear that the Church of Otago holds its property with this condition—that, as soon as opportunity offers, she shall unite with the Presbyterian Church in other Settlements of New Zealand, and become a National Church.

That this was the intention of the founders of the Otago Settlement, and that it possessed the minds of the members of the first Presbytery of Otago is evident from the recorded proceedings of that body. The Moderator was authorised to inform the ministers of the Presbyterian Churches in New Zealand of the erection of the Presbytery of Otago, to assure them of the desire

^{*} The Rev. Mr. Macfarlane accompanied the first Scottish settlers to Wellington in 1840. About the time of the Disruption and several years thereafter, the Rev. John Inglis—well known afterwards as missionary in the New Hebrides—ministered to the Presbyterians there. The Rev. Mr. Nicholson (as has been seen) arrived in Otago by the "John Wickliffe," and went on to Nelson, where he was settled in 1848. The Rev. Mr. Panton, from the Free Church, was settled in Auckland in 1849.

of the Church of Otago for fellowship and co-operation with them as far as might be practicable at that time, "hoping and praying that in His own good time and at no distant period, through the favour of the great Head of the Church, a closer union of these Churches and of this Church may be consummated." This fraternal message was duly sent, and the records of Presbytery note the fact that replies were received from the Revs. John Moir (Wellington), William Dron (Hutt), T. D. Nicholson (Nelson), Mr. Wilson (Hon. Sec. of the Free Church of Scotland Committee in Canterbury).

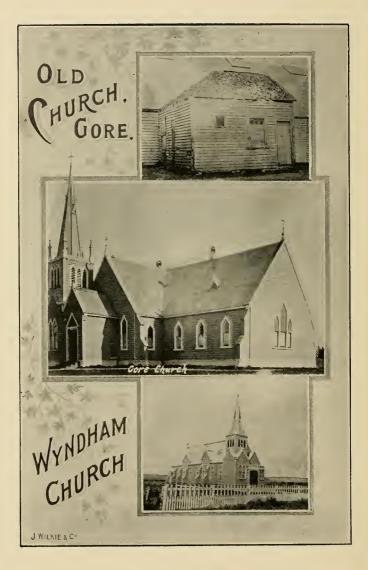
An address was also sent to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. The Rev. James Henderson, D.D., Moderator of the Assembly, wrote a very affectionate and stimulating letter in reply. Amongst other things, he said: "We rejoice in the setting up of the Presbyterian government and discipline in New Zealand, and we congratulate you on the prospect, soon, we trust, to be realised, of the constituting of two other Presbyteries in other Settlements in the Islands, which, if formed into a Synod, may do much to strengthen and concentrate the Presbyterian cause, and thereby, as we believe, the cause of vital Christianity throughout the Colony."

The aspiration of the Church of Otago for Union again burst forth in a striking form at a meeting of the Presbytery on 24th June, 1858. A letter had been received from Mr. Moir announcing the formation of the Presbytery of Wellington, and enclosing minutes of its first meeting; among the rest, an "Act anent communion and intercourse with other Churches in New Zealand." The Presbytery unanimously agreed to a lengthy resolution, almost passionate in its expressions of desire for 224

union. One sentence reads thus: "It is the fixed purpose of this Presbytery not to suffer any opportunity to pass for the furtherance and eventual realisation of a consummation so devoutly longed for, nor to suffer their aspirations and zeal for it to be quenched or discouraged by any difficulties in the way, as they are persuaded that those difficulties, though formidable, are not insurmountable, and are becoming gradually less."

At a meeting of Presbytery held on 20th June, 1861, a letter was received from the Rev. D. Bruce, of Auckland, "anent Conference of Presbyteries and Presbyterian ministers to be held in Dunedin, with a view to the union of the general body as the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand." The Presbytery, "after mature deliberation," felt it "to be their sacred duty to lend their assistance in promoting such a union," cordially acquiesced in the proposed Conference, and appointed a committee to make the necessary arrangements. The Conference met on the 20th November, 1861. Dr. Burns preached from John XVII., verses 11, 21, 23. The utmost harmony prevailed. A Basis of Union and other documents were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be sent down to Presbyteries and Sessions with the recommendation that they should concur in the same. It was also resolved to hold a Convocation in Auckland in November, 1862, at which representatives from Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions should attend and give in their deliverances on the Basis of Union, with power to constitute themselves into a General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Dr. Burns was appointed to draw up a kind of pastoral address explaining the proceedings of the Conference and setting forth the advantages of union.





The address breathes throughout a fine Christian spirit. "All present," it says, "felt the need of and sought Divine guidance in a matter of such moment as this evidently was, and they have reason to believe that it was graciously vouchsafed to them. In a few hours spent in a straightforward and charitable statement of their views, all the brethren saw eye to eye on the question of their groundwork, and the platform of the Presbyterian Church was laid without a single dissentient voice."

The Convocation met in Auckland on the 21st November, 1862. The returns from Presbyteries and Sessions were favourable. The Basis of Union was finally adopted; and on the 25th November the General Assembly was constituted. Unfortunately, a clause was inserted in Article II. of the Basis that gave rise to misunderstandings which threatened for a time to wreck the Union. The obnoxious clause stated, in reference to the Directory for Public Worship, the Form of Presbyterian Church Government, and the First and Second Books of Discipline, that they were adopted "in so far as these latter are applicable to the circumstances of the Church." It seems now a very harmless statement, and simply expresses what has been the practice of the Otago Church from the beginning. But somehow the suspicion arose that the claim was designed to make room for innovations of all kinds: misconceptions became rife. Some members of the Presbytery of Otago became exceedingly sensitive, and by-and-bye stiffened into an attitude of opposition to the Union on the amended Basis. It would hardly be for edification to follow the course of events in any detailed form. Suffice it to say that all misunderstanding

was once more removed at a meeting of Presbytery, held in Dunedin on the 21st September, 1864, at which Commissioners from the Assembly were present. A Basis of Union very much in the original form, was unanimously adopted and sent down to Presbyteries and Sessions. Providence seemed again to smile, and all rejoiced—some, mayhap, with trembling. At the request of the Presbytery, Dr. Burns "engaged in prayer thanking Almighty God for the harmony and satisfactory result at which the Presbytery had arrived."

When the returns from Kirk Sessions came before the Presbytery, on the 13th January, 1865, it was found that 9 Sessions approved of the Basis as submitted to them, and 4 suggested amendments. After due deliberation, it was resolved—" That considering the divided opinion of this Church on the matter of the Basis of Union, this Presbytery, instead of further seeking in the meantime a Union of Incorporation, shall be satisfied with a Union of Co-operation." Two members of the Presbytery were appointed to make this decision known to the Assembly that met in Dunedin on the 21st November, 1865. The Assembly acquiesced in the Presbytery's desire for co-operation, and expressed regret at the failure of negotiations for a complete union.

Whoever undertakes to write the history of the Union Movement since then will find it a perplexing maze. He will be weary and sad before he gets halfway through its windings; and unless a clear call of God keeps him persistent, he will turn away with a bruised feeling about all his energies. It is, perhaps, impossible for anyone to write on the subject without bias; for one longs to see the Church of one's love great in act as it has been in thought. All profess to be in favour of Union. All seem piously ready to say "Amen" to the desire for Union that has been expressed in every conceivable form since the first Presbytery began to articulate the sentiments of the collective body. Why, then, does performance lag so lamentably behind desire?

This, at least, there seems a clear call to say, after a review of the whole history—that the Northern Church has been courteous, dignified, and brotherly-and that in its inmost thoughts it must be at a loss to conceive on what kind of Basis the minority in the Church of Otago would be willing to unite. The Basis of 1884 seemed to involve the sacrifice of almost every vestige of privilege on the part of the North. The General Assembly was to have its stated ordinary place of meeting in Dunedin. There were to be three Synods with all the rights and privileges appertaining to subordinate judicatories of the Church. The Synod of Otago was to remain entire, and every special advantage of the Otago Church was to be left intact. That opportunity will never return. It is good that it should not. We can never be fit for Union unless there is a Spirit of love at the heart of the movement; and the secret of love's working lies in sacrifice. "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for My sake shall find it."

CHAPTER XXIX.

PRESBYTERIANISM.

WHAT Scottish Presbyterianism has done for Otago, Catholic Presbyterianism has done for modern civilisation in Protestant countries. Some people seem to imagine that they have named Presbyterianism correctly, and given it its proper setting in human history, when they call it "the Scotch Church." It is not by any means a product peculiar to Scotland. It has found a congenial soil there, but it has taken root and flourished in other lands. It has proved itself on the field of history to be far less national than any other form of Church order in Protestantism. Indeed, when a living Church has been at liberty, or has claimed and exercised the liberty, to determine its own polity, it has almost invariably worked out a Presbyterian system. In almost every one of the reformed Churches on the Continent of Europe either the Presbyterian form or one nearly akin to it was adopted. It is not necessary to adduce proof of this, for the fact itself is unquestionable.

The Church of the Huguenots in France, and the National Church of Holland, may be taken as specimens. They were both, no doubt, very much influenced by Geneva; but it was not because Calvin had stamped Presbyterianism with his great and justly-revered name that they accepted it. They went direct to the Word of God. They acknowledged no human lordship over their spiritual life. Christ was their Lord, and every article of their creed and all the essential elements of their Church polity were fashioned in accordance with His revealed will. They were in no sense ignorant of primitive usage. They knew the writings of the Fathers and the traditions of the early Church. Their range of literature may have been narrower than ours; but they had all the patristic literature that bore on the great themes with which men's minds were then exercised, and every jot and tittle of it almost was as familiar to the leaders of the Reformation as the school books of their boyhood. While thankful for any glimmer of light it yielded, they put it all aside as a final and determining influence in their beliefs and practices, and appealed to Holy Scripture as the supreme rule of faith and judge of controversies. It surely counts for much that these men, animated by the Spirit of God, and going in patient prayerful study to the Word of God, found in its pages the grand outlines of Presbyterianism.

The same thing may be truly said of the Church in England about the time of the Westminster Assembly, in 1643-49. It is very desirable that the place and purpose of that famous Assembly in religious history should be understood. It was the outgrowth of a purely English movement. It was composed entirely of Englishmen, one hundred and fifty-one in all—namely, ten Lords and twenty Commoners as lay assessors, and one hundred and twenty-one Divines. True there were seven* Scottish Commissioners, but they were there simply to advise; they had no vote. The Parliament that called these men together was certainly not deficient in intelligence nor lacking in patriotism. And it had a

^{*} Eight, but Robert Douglas never sat.

very definite purpose in view in calling the Assembly together. That purpose is very explicitly stated in the "Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly divines and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England." Parliament had agreed to abolish the prelatic system of Church government. That system seemed, in its readiness to become the tool of the King, a continual menace to national liberty, and it was doomed to be swept away. And now the Parliament wanted to have something to put in its place. The jungle, let us say, had been cleared. The tangled thickets and matted luxuriance of heavily-scented vegetation, where poisonous fruits grew and wild beasts had their lairs, had been got rid of. Was the ground to remain fallow and lie open to every shifting opinion, and become a nursery of sects and a lurking place for crawling things; or was it to be cultivated and sown with the seed of the Divine Word, so that it might become like a Paradise restored, where God and man would walk together, and the fruits of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost abound? Surely the last was above all things desirable.

And so, after Parliament had determined to get rid of the system of Prelacy that had grown so offensive and dangerous, it further resolved—" That such a government shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad." Most of the Puritan divines who occupied such a determining place in the Assembly had received Episcopal ordination, and had carried on their ministry for a time in the Episcopal Church of England, but they had become Presbyterians. The appeal with these men, and with all parties in the Assembly, was to the Word of God; and after careful and patient deliberations—protracted through the almost incredible period of five years and a-half—they gave to the world, as the result of their labours, the documents known as "The Westminster Standards," which are Presbyterian in their polity, and include (as is well known) the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of our Church.

It would be hard to over-estimate the debt which modern (as distinguished from mediæval) civilisation owes to Churches of the Presbyterian type. This is more clearly seen, and more forcibly acknowledged, by historians now than it was wont to be. Froude's book, "English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century," shows, with the clearness of a sunbeam, that men of the Calvinistic type virtually made modern England. They may not have formulated their strong and rugged convictions into the Presbyterian or any other system. They were hewing at realities-at the essentials of freedom-rather than chiselling at outward forms. Their hearts burned with a fierce enthusiasm against Rome, because of the infamous deeds of the Inquisition. They were eager to strike at every sign of Rome, because it was to them a portent of cruel tyranny. It was well that there were such men to ally themselves with the winds and waves, and beat back the Spanish Armada from the shores of England; else Roman Absolutism might still have been sitting like a hideous nightmare astride all human energy, and choking the breath of freedom from every human institution. It seems very

clear that these "poor Protestant adventurers who fought through that perilous week in the English Channel, and saved their country and their country's liberty" were the precursors of the Puritans who helped to frame the Westminster Standards. Their love of liberty, and readiness to dare all things that they might have clear space for doing God's will, ran through all the subsequent stages of British history, both in the Old World and in the New.

Further, who can say how much modern civilisation in its industrial progress owes to the Presbyterian Huguenots. They fought valiantly in their own land against a tyranny as pitiless and unsparing as that of the unspeakable Turk. The horrors of Armenia are recent, and seem unparalleled in the history of religious persecution. They are not one whit worse than the inhuman atrocities that were committed every day in France under those pliant instruments of the Romish hierarchy, Charles IX. and Louis XIV. Little wonder that so many of the Huguenots got weary of the interminable struggle, and at terrible risk sought asylum in other lands. Thither they carried the practice of arts unknown to their protectors. Almost every handicraft received an impetus from their intelligence and skill. They quickened the pulse of industrial life in many parts of England and Scotland. In the north of Ireland they laid the foundation of that linen trade, and imparted some of its sturdy elements to that character, which have helped to make Ulster prosperous and strong. In the new world their influence can still be traced.

The Netherland Presbyterians were equally brave and enterprising. Men who were ready, during the horrors of a prolonged siege, after everything else was

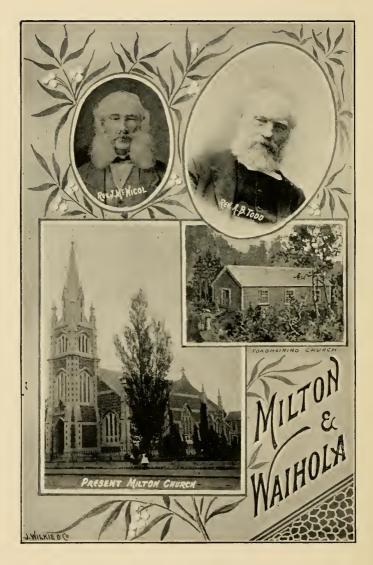
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consumed, to eat their left arm that they might, as they put it, have their right arm to defend their women, their liberty, and their religion, were surely cast in heroic mould. Many of them, too, were scattered by persecution, and the impoverishment of their own land turned to the enrichment of others.

Far from being Scottish in its origin, or provincial in its range, Presbyterianism is eminently Scriptural in its origin and catholic in its range, and has infused into modern civilisation many of its most hallowing and enriching elements. Many statements to show this might be quoted from historical writers. Let this summary from the younger Hodge suffice :---" It is an historical fact, acknowledged by such impartial witnesses as Sir James Macintosh, Froude, and Bancroft, that Presbyterian principles revolutionised Western Europe and her populations, and inaugurated modern history. As to their influence upon civil as well as religious liberty, and upon national education, it is only necessary to cite the post-Reformation history of Geneva, Holland, the history of the Huguenots in France, the Puritans of England, the Presbyterians of Scotland, and the founders of the American Republic."*

The Scriptural origin and mould of Presbyterianism ought to be emphasized. Chillingworth's saying is

^{*} Four books have been constantly before me in writing as I have done in this Chapter:--"History of the Westminster Assembly," by Hetherington; Smiles' "Huguenots"; Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic"; and Froude's "English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century." Froude's book is as readable as a novel, full of picturesque phrases, throbbing with loftiest devotion to great principles—appealing with utmost confidence from the feeble misconceptions and hearsays of the present to the clearer and more robust verdicts of an enlightened posterity.

unreservedly accepted :---" The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the religion of Protestants." It is an open book to all. There may be many aids, oral and written, to the understanding of its truths, but each man is bound to understand it for himself, and find in its varied literature a message from God to his own soul. Its teachings are to be received, not because they bear the stamp of great names, or have been embodied in a Church's Creed, but because they are the Word of God. In dealing personally with this Word, the soul is brought into living relationship with God through Jesus Christ. There is no place and no need for any human mediator. The believing soul has direct access to the heart of God through the atoning merit and the life-giving spirit of Christ; and the soul yielding itself to Him as the only Redeemer, gladly acknowledges Him as its alone rightful Lord. This personal union to Jesus Christ is the luminous fact that gives consistency to Presbyterianism : for precisely the same life that unites men to Christ constitutes them members one of another. They are united to Him and to each other by the same life-giving Spirit. "One is their Master, even Christ," and all they are brethren.

Through that common life in Christ, all power comes. It resides in the entire body of which He is the Head. But all are not alike. They differ in natural temperament—in transmitted qualities—in acquired habits—in the outward allotments of life. And it is often along these natural lines that Divine grace runs; for Christ does not take up the government of human life merely at the point where the human will, in conscious surrender, acknowledges His Lordship. He separates men from their mother's womb, as well as calls them by His grace. And spiritual power is so distributed as to make believers at once mutually dependent and helpfully co-operant. All are on the same level so far as privilege and standing—oneness with Christ and direct access to God in the Spirit of adoption—are concerned; yet there are great diversities. How these are to be used so as to minister to the two great functions of the Church: its perfection and its propagation — its growth in holiness and its extension over widening areas—the Presbyterian system aims at showing.

The Church, it may be said, has three methods of carrying on her work-doctrine, discipline, and distribution. The first two are under the control of presbyters or bishops; the third under the direction of deacons. It is believed that these are the only two *permanent* orders of office-bearers known to the New Testament. It gives Divine sanction to these only. The terms "presbyter" and "bishop" are used interchangeably by New Testament writers; they designate precisely the same office. No careful reader of the New Testament dreams of calling that in question. The reasons why different titles are assigned to the same office, as stated by older Presbyterians, may not be historically accurate, but they are perhaps as near the truth as any other, and they are helpful. "Pastors, bishops, and ministers are they who are appointed to particular congregations; in respect whereof sometimes called pastors, because they feed their congregations; sometimes bishops, because they watch over their flocks; sometimes ministers, because of their service ; sometimes, also, presbyters or seniors, for the gravity of manners which they ought and are supposed to have."

It is now also generally admitted by scholars that diocesan episcopacy is a development of sub-Apostolic times; that the diocesan bishop was not evolved out of the Apostolic order by localisation, but out of the Presbyterial by elevation; and the title of bishop, which in the New Testament is common to all presbyters, came at length to be applied to the chief among them. With all that, of course, Presbyterianism can have nothing to do, seeing it has its origin and reason for continuance outside the Word of God. Presbyterianism insists on the equality of all presbyters, and that no one has a right to lord it over God's heritage. At the same time Presbyterianism has been quite ready, as a temporary expedient, to raise some of its most competent presbyters or bishops to a kind of diocesan ministry. The "First Book of Discipline" provided for superintendents, and called the districts in which they were to exercise their special functions dioceses. "We have thought it a thing most expedient at this time (in 1560, when there were comparatively few ministers and a great work of evangelising and organising to be done) that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve to whom charge and commandment should be given to plant and erect Kirks, to set, order, and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now."* But these superintendents were to be elected and appointed by Presbyteries, and to be in all respects subject to the discipline of presbyters. They were simply primi inter pares. The same principle, as we have seen, was carried into practice here when the

^{* &}quot; First Book of Discipline," Chap. vi.

Presbytery of Otago appointed some of its members a commission to ordain ministers-one commission to act north of the Taieri, and one south. The Presbytery would have been quite within the lines of Presbyterian polity in delegating its power to one commissioner whom it might have called a bishop, or any other name at all expressive of the work he had to do. Indeed, in new countries, sparsely peopled, with large areas to be covered by insufficient forces, a Presbyterian Church might act wisely in setting apart one or two of its ministers to do very much what Knox's superintendents were appointed to do. It is a different matter altogether when a *permanent* episcopate is formed out of the Presbyterial order by elevation, and assumes lordly airs, and arrogates to itself the sole right or privilege of administering the affairs of Christ's kingdom. Presbyterianism is the scriptural and historical protest against such practices, for they are not a development in the line of spiritual attainment, but a degeneration towards "carnal ordinances imposed until a time of reformation."

CONCLUSION.

THE mission of a Christian Church is to occupy the land for Christ. In a very real, and also in a kind of symbolic way, our Presbyterian Church took possession of Otago, and consecrated all its places, and institutions and industries.

It consecrated all places by holding services in dwelling-houses, in barns, in wool-sheds, in stock-yards, on the hill-sides, amidst the vanishing bush in the gullies where men dig gold. The first time the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—wherein all the redeeming and hallowing elements of Christ's mediation are gathered into a focus—was dispensed in Dunedin, the tables were ordinary forms of man's making : thus all handicraft was sanctified. At one of the earliest celebrations of the holy ordinance in Tokomairiro, some bags of wheat served the purpose of a Communion-table; at its first administration in Oamaru, the sacred Altar was a bale of wool : thus the agricultural and pastoral industries were consecrated.

The first meeting of the Provincial Council, and al its subsequent sessions, were opened with a prayer composed by Dr. Burns; and thus into the arena of political debate and the halls of legislation, the spirit of Christianity was breathed. The first school was also sanctified by the Word of God and prayer.

And so the Church by real acts, which were also significant of wider issues, from the beginning of the settlement kept her chief end in view, and sought to bring all men, with all that belongs to them, and all that they put their hands to, into subjection to Jesus Christ, and into the uses of his kingdom; so that whether they eat or drink, or whatsoever they do, they may do all to the glory of God.

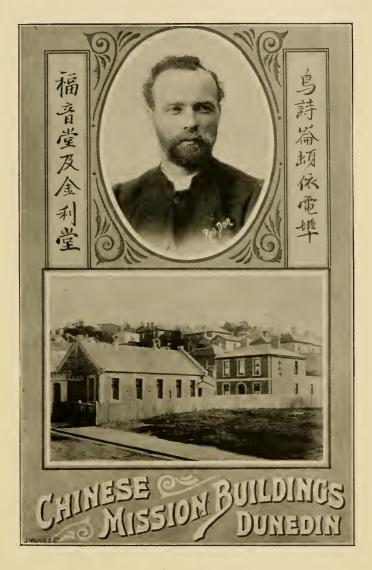
What marvellous changes have taken place in the land during these bygone years! Along what was once a jagged foreshore at Dunedin, there are built up in architectural beauty piles of masonry, where wares of every kind are temptingly displayed, and crowds of people with hurrying feet, and deft hands, and eager brains, ply their daily calling. Far beyond what was once a beach strewn with boulders and left bare by the ebbing tide, much reclaiming work has been done. Where the long street now roars between lofty warehouses filled with merchandise from all lands, the unpolluted waters of the bay were wont to sparkle. In the suburbs of Dunedin, on sloping hill-sides and in deep gullies, the stately pine and the graceful fern-tree, the kowhai with its drooping sprays, and the gnarled broad-leaf, along with the shapely maple and manuka, have disappeared, and in their stead have come neat cottages with trim lawns, and verandahs festooned with creepers of every form and hue.

Away inland, great plains were wont to lie sombre and silent in their natural covering of tussock and fern and long-bladed flax, and tutu with purple berries, and feathery toi-tois and fronded cabbage-trees; creeks crept sluggishly along, and spread out here and there into lagoons and broad marshy places, where the swampturkey waded among Maori-heads, and paradise ducks in resplendant plumage disported themselves all the day, and no man came to disturb the utter solitude or break in upon the seclusion of the wild-fowls' nestling brood. There cosy homesteads now rise amid belts of sheltering pine trees, from whose branches the mavis calls to his mate, and the blackbird pipes his evening song; there, also, are well-cultivated fields waving with corn, and green pastures pied with nibbling flocks, and well-formed roads fringed with hedges of gorse all ablaze in early summer with golden blossom. From north to south the railway engine speeds along and brings places that once lay far apart within a few hours of each other; the telegraph also flashes messages to every hamlet throughout the land.

All these changes have been effected by bringing the resources of modern civilisation to bear on the natural capabilities of the place. Why should there not be changes as great in the spiritual sphere? No one dreams that the grace of God is exhausted, or that human society has attained to perfection of virtue and chivalrous selfdenial for the common weal. The rising generation of Presbyterians is young in opportunity and old in the inheritance of a storied past; it bears an honoured name; it is girt about with the traditions of a noble ancestry; it has at its beck the ministries of a Church that has dared to speak the truth against all odds, and has kept well to the highway of duty even when it was seen to end in the dungeon or at the stake. Why, then, should it not excel all previous generations in spiritual vigour and purity of heart, and affluence of Christ-like deeds?

It is easy to laud the heroisms of the past, and persuade ourselves that we, too, are of the prophetic race because we garnish the tombs of the prophets. But our

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claim to a place in the glorious succession must justify itself, in practical ways, at the bar of present requirement. The evils that they had to fight against may not be the evils that threaten us; but whatever these may be, and however firmly they may have entrenched themselves in social custom and vested interest, we shall show our kinship with the great of old if we resolutely fight against them—taking sides with the oppressed against the oppressor, with the untried and helpless against enslaving practices that would cripple their energies and strip them of the controlling power of a free manhood.

Thus let us go

And humbly join us to the weaker part: Fanatics named, the fools, yet well content So we can be the nearer to God's heart, And feel its solemn pulses sending blood Through all the wide-spread veins of endless good.

The following contrasts are noteworthy. In March, 1840, a year after the arrival of the first settlers, the population was about 444. At the close of that year it had risen to 1149. Of these 825 were Presbyterians. The total population of Otago now is 163.944, and of these 73.231 are Presbyterians.

The one charge of 1848 has grown to 83 charges and 8 home mission stations. The four elders or ruling presbyters of the first Session have increased to 471. The first Deacons' Court of 9 members has grown to 283 deacons and 562 managers. The small membership at the beginning stood in 1851 at 353, and has now increased to about 14,000.

FIFTY YEARS SYNE.

The first published balance-sheet is for the year ending December 31st, 1851; the last is for the year ending September 30th, 1897. Some of the contrasts stand thus:—

	THEN.	NOW.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Church door collections	$114 17 3\frac{1}{2}$	7,284 5 11
Seat rents from 7th March	. 7186	3,129 4 0*
Sustentation Fund from 19th	1	
November	. 3960	13,244 9 3
Missions—	No return	1,082 9 9
Native Teachers	- 23	252 18 3
Church Extension — .	• ,,	I,229 O 3
Total for all purposes .	. £455 0 0	£30,885 6 6

* Some congregations have no seat rents.

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